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P. SIXTUS SCAGLIA
REFORMED CISTERCIAN OF THE ABBEY OF S. CALLISTUS

THE CATACOMBS OF SAINT CALLISTUS

HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION

General View of the Christian Sepulture, Epigraphy and Art

Translated from the original, with due authorization from the author

BY

Reverend HENRY S. NAGENGAST, A. M., of the Baltimore Archid.
of Baltimore, Maryland, U. S. A.

Baltimore, October 14th 1910,
on the Feast of Saint Callistus Pope and Martyr.

Published by the « TIPOGRAFIA EDITRICE DELLA SAPIENZA »
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Les catacombes de St. Calixte.

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The oldest picture of the Blessed Virgin

(From the Catacombs of St. Priscilla, beginning of the II century).

PREFACE

We are certainly in a peculiar situation nowadays, « of unrest », whatever the cause or causes may be, or from whatever standpoint we might look at it; unrest in social life, unrest in religious life. Yes, there seems to be unrest everywere, and peace nowhere. The reasons for this unrest are not hard to find: there is but one reason in reality.

God has not His place nor His rights in the individual, social or political life: hence the trouble all around. The fundamental laws of charity and justice seem not to have any bearing any more with many in office, and we must not be astonished, if the echo to their actions and words is: « I shall not serve, I do not recognize you, you are no more than I am!... The words of our Divine Lord seem to be forgotten, by high and low: « Let him who wants to follow Me, take up his cross, and follow Me etc »..... These words of our Blessed Lord have been followed most literally by the holy martyrs. What a noble inspiration for all those who have the happiness to visit their hallowed sanctuaries under the ground, watered and sanctified with their blood! As they do now still call to us: « My brethren in Christ! As I have done, so do you also do! » Their beliefs have given them their substantiating hope and consequent courage, in face of the most horrible sufferings! Christianus sum!, and with this, they sacrificed all, « for the sake of Christ

Whom they loved. To die for Him, was to live eternally with Him ». All this is borne out admirably in the inscriptions of the Catacombs, which give us also the consoling testimony, that our faith was their faith, that as they loved, lived and died, so also we should love, live and die, in Christ and for Christ.

After various misfortunes, from A. D. 410 on, which it would be too long to enumerate here, the catacombs lost their attraction for the faithful, and by the XII century, they were about forgotten. In 1578, a tomb on the Salaria Way was accidentally discovered; this led to the catacomb. But it was not, however, until the publication of 1632, after the author's death, of the « Roma Sotteranea » of Antonio Bosio, that attention was once more called to the catacombs. The real discoverer of the Catacombs was J. B. De-Rossi, (who died Sept. 20, 1894). His labors and publications have led to the wide diffusion of a knowledge of Christian Archaeology, of its application to the catacombs and in consequence, to an increased reverence for these subterranean cemeteries of Rome during the persecutions. The Holy Father, through the kindness of his faithful children the world over, who take an interest in the work so intimately connected with their faith, namely in the furtherance of the excavations of the various catacombs, disburses about twenty thousand lire, (about 4,000), yearly.

The excavations are of the most arduous. What Catholic will refuse his mite, in order to give a peremptory proof to our separated brethren « Now », that the ancient faith has « Not » changed?

The excavations are superintended by the members of the « Special Commission of Sacred Archaeology » of Rome, « The Vatican ». The work of De Rossi is

being carried on by his scholars, Armellini, Stevenson, Marucchi, Wilpert and others. The publications, issued regularly by Catholics and non-Catholics, shows the interest the public has a right to take in this important matter; these investigation bear witness to the self-sacrifing zeal and devoton, as well as to the scholarship with which the science of Christian Antiquities is pursued. The real object is: « The Truth ».

The thousands of inscriptions found in the catacombs, are evident proof, that, from the time of the Apostles, (Ss. Peter and Paul), Christianity found its way into the most illustrious families, the imperial included, of Rome. The « clarissimi and clarissimae », indicate senatorial rank, and the « gens » the name of a noble clan. The inscriptions relate to many professions. The religious conceptions are plainly stated, those especially referring to the fundamentals of the Catholic religion, God, Christ, the Holy Spirit, Grace, Baptism, the Sacraments, the four last things, the relation with the dead through prayer.

The older the inscriptions referring to dogma, the more important they are. Now, let the Protestants conscienciously enquire and prayerfully study. Their eyes may be opened to the « Truth ».

If comparatively few inscriptions bear a consular date previous to Constantine, still « the names, the form of the letters, the style, the place of the discovery, the pictorial emblems, etc. point very simply to a period which precedes Constantine. It may justly be said, that the complete course of Roman Catholic Theology might be illustrated by the incriptions already found, and still (assuredly) to be found, in the catacombs. Neither the R. C. Church, nor her teachings, need fear any discovery, much less the unjust attacks

of the various sects of Protestantism. Let us go ahead and excavate! The sooner, the better!

The same current of ideas is conveyed also by pictures: The symbols of hope, victory, everlasting peace, eternal joy.

The paintings show the same ideas fundamental to the actual Catholic teaching: this life, the end of this life, the after-life. The use of this life through prayer, through Baptism and the Eucharist, the intercession of the saints for a good judgment and eternal happiness. Hence the many episodes of the Old and the New Testament.

The sames scenes symbolical of the fundamental teachings of the Church, are found on the tomb-stones, the sarcophagi, in the frescoes and on the various objects, especially those for domestic use.

There seems to be a preconcerted, well-arranged plan, even from a human stand-point. The guiding hand in all these productions was Faith, one and the same, from Christ and the Apostles down through their representatives, the Popes. « Christus heri, Christus hodie, Christus et in saecula: Christ yesterday, Christ to-day and forever ». (St. Paul).

« One Baptism, One Faith, One Lord, the Father of all ».

But of all the Catacombs, none are more illustrious, than those of St. Callistus, honored with the virginal remains of our sweet Saint Cecilia!

The Translator,
H. S. N.
Baltimore Maryland

October 14, 1910
The feast of Saint Callistus, P. M.

THE CATACOMBS OF SAINT CALLISTUS

Preamble and division.

The lamented J. B. De Rossi, said, in the second volume of his « *Rome souterraine* », that next to the Vatican tombs, the most venerable sanctuary of Rome is the Chapel or Crypt of the Popes, this very subterranean chapel, around which, as a center, the immense necropolis of Saint Callistus developed during the third and fourth centuries.

It has always been my intense desire to describe this most noble of all the regions of subterranean Rome. How often I went down into those crypts to study their precious monuments! How often, after delivering my usual conferences to scholars or to a group of amateurs of sacred archaeology, I felt prompted to write a study and description of the great cemetery! But, what could I say that others had not already said before me? This question, to which I could not give an answer, caused me always to lay my pen aside. At present, however, the answer seems easy to me, I was going to say, natural: therefore without further delay, I will put it here as a preface to this book:

I. Although the illustrious De Rossi described this cemetery especially, writing much upon the subject, still, not all he said was published in books to

be found on sale. I shall therefore discover among the untold things many which will appear as new, and become interesting;

II. Lately, other excavations were made, resulting in the discovery of new monuments; and new studies have been published, the results of which are extremely interesting;

III. Finally, the author may add some of his own, due to his personal investigations; he may resume what others have already said; he may explain them in a different way, with new means, by a different, if not new, method.

The book will be divided as follows:

Chapter I. General notions concerning subterranean Rome;

Chapter II. Epigraphy and Art in the Catacombs;

Chapter III. The Cemetery of Saint Callistus.

Chapter I.

General notions concerning subterranean Rome

Article I.

Character of Christian Sepulture.

From the very beginning, Christian sepulture was a religious act; according to the testimony of the Fathers, and especially of Tertullian and St. Cyprian, the burial of the dead was a duty much sought after by the Christians. God's punishment was feared for the omission of this duty (1). Having this object in view they had alms-boxes, and they thought it lawful to sell the sacred vessels, in order to bury the dead (2).

One readily understands, then, that the Christian tombs were completely separated from the Pagan tombs, and, that a Christian could never be buried in a Pagan *hypogeum*. Upon this point the facts, documents and monuments perfectly agree. For this reason also, one may easily understand why from the beginning, the Apostles instituted the cemetery together with the temple and the school. Holy Writ does not mention united tombs; the most ancient documents speak of a cemetery *ad nymphas* S. Petri, the fountains of St. Peter, ad *fontem S. Petri*, the spring of St. Peter, ad sedem ubi prius sedit S. Petrus,

(1) St. Cyprian, édition Baluse, Ep. II; Tertull. Apol. 36.
(2) St. Ambros. De officiis., lib. II, 142, Venetiis, t. III, p. 124.

the seat of St. Peter; in a word, of a cemetery which, in the Acts of Pope Liberius, is called « Ostrianï », where St. Peter baptized ».

In Asia, the greater part of the Christian tombs were private, dug in very hard rock, and very little

Fig. 1 — Tomb dug in a rock in Arabia (*Revue biblique*, 1905, p. 588).

different from the Jewish tombs (figs. 1 and 2). In the West, on the contrary, and in Africa, the common tombs were numerous.

In Rome, and in different parts of *Italy*, in *Sicily* (fig. 3) and in *Malta*, they dug catacombs. In *Africa*,

the *collegiate* tombs were generally above ground ; it was the same in *Spain* and in *Gaul ;* this position made them an easier prey for persecution. I say generally ; for, lately, catacombs were discovered even in Africa (fig. 4).

But the name « *catacombs* » does not belong to all the Christian underground *cemeteries*. At first it

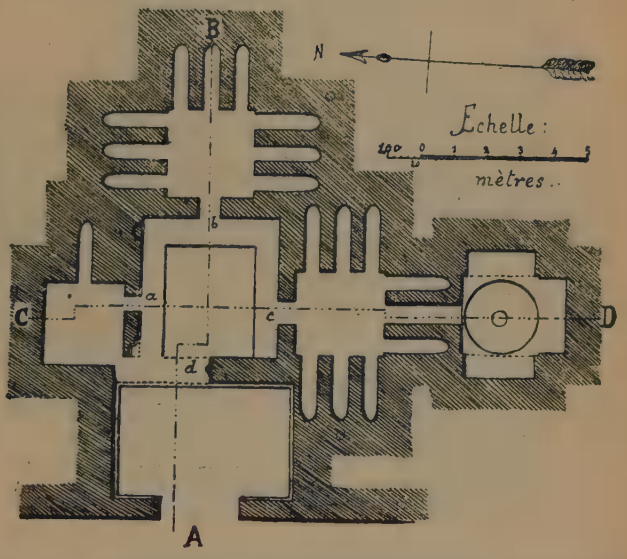

Fig. 2 — Plan of a jewish hypogea at Jerusalem (*Revue biblique*, 1899, p. 207). (Scale in meters 1 m = 39' about).

designated only the cemetery of Saint Sebastian ; perhaps, either, because a hollow, or cavity was in the place, whence the Greek compound word, from κατὰ in, and from κυμβοσ hollow,... or because other tombs were there ; hence the word, half Greek and half Latin, κατὰ *cumbo*, near the restingplace, or the sleeping-

place, *ad accubitoria*. At any rate, only in the IX century this hybrid word was applied to all the underground cemeteries.

The true name for the Christian collegiate tombs, their real appropriate name, was *cemetery*, from the Greek κοιμητήριον. Nevertheless in Greece and in Greek inscriptions, the word was used to indicate a single tomb or a small hypogeum. Its meaning gives precisely the idea of death and of burial; hence the

Fig. 3 — Catacombs of Sicily.

expressions (epigraphical) of *dormitio*, sleep, *depositio*, deposition, *somnum pacis*, sleep of peace; hence also the words *cubiculus or cubiculum*, sleeping-room, bed, given the sepulchral rooms, although this word was used also by the Pagans.

Even before Christianity, there was a Jewish catacomb in Rome, going back perhaps to the time of Pompeius. It would then appear that this catacomb had been the prototype or the model of the

Christian cemeteries. Neverthebes, as J. B. De Rossi says, Jews and Christians had a common type for their tombs in Palestine (1).

Fig. 4 — African catacombs *(Bull. d'Arch. chrêt.*, 1905).

(1) « Roma sotterranea » t. I, p. 90 The Jewish catacomb in question was found recently along the Via Portuensis; it was in such a bad state, that no repairs were possible.

Article II.

Generic Names indicating cemeteries — Ground in which catacombs are dug — Etruscan tomb. Roman tomb — Christian hypogeum.

As found in the writers and documents, various names designate the cemeteries. Here are the principal ones: Area, crypta, crypta arenaria, arenarium.

Fig. 5 — Section of an arenary gallery changed into a cemetery.

Areae was the name given to Christian cemeteries in Africa, whence the cry: Areae non sint! Down or Away with the Areae! » This cry was shouted by the rabble, rushing to profane and destroy the Christian tombs (1).

---

(1) Tertull., Ad Scap., c. 3: « Sub Hilariano praeside, de areis sepulturarum nostrarum acclamatum est: Areae non sint! » « Whilst Hilarion was in charge, we heard the cry against the Areae of our tombs: Away with them ».

The word *Area* supposes precisely a cemetery above ground; this is corroborated by an inscription found in Mauritania: « Aream ad sepulchra cultor Verbi (Evelpius) contulit. i. e. Evelpius, adorer of the Word, gave this area for tombs ». Area was the name given also to the ground above the cemetery or around a grave...

Crypta meant any kind of subterranean place, and designated as well the galleries as the **cubiculi** of the catacombs.

Crypta arenaria differed from the foregoing name

Fig. 6 — Section of a sand stone gallery changed into a cemetery.

only in as much as it supposed this subterranean place to have been dug in hard sand stone.

Crypta arenarum means the same as **arenarium** and signifies probably a sand-pit: **arenae fodina.**

Who studies ancient documents must needs remember these distinctions, lest he fall into the same errors, which, during several centuries, caused the predecessors of Rev F. Marchi and of the De Rossi brothers, to strike and follow a wrong trail. It was the belief that the catacombs were nothing else but ancient pozzuolana quarries which the Christians adopted for cemeteries, or a place of refuge, for themselves, a

sure asylum in time of persecution. More than that; it was even said that the catacombs extended far under the city of Rome, passed under the bed of the Tiber, and met again at a central point. Some pretended that they comunicated with the **puticoli** of the Esquiline Hill.

The very nature of the stone in which tho Catacombs are dug, disproves the claim that they were ancient pozzuolana quarries. The Roman soil, naturally volcanic, presents rocks varying in cohesion and hardness. Leaving aside gradations, they may be divided into three kinds:

Lithoidal tufa, the harder kind, is most excellently used in constructions; when it is cut into small regular squares, it is also called *saxum quadratum,* (*squared stone*), or, also, on account of its reddish colour, *lapis ruber,* red stone; the softer kind, easily ground to sand or pozzuolana, was used by the Ancients in preparing cement.

It was of different qualities, and was preferred to river sand.... the last kind, simply called *tufa,* of a terreous nature and not hard enough to serve as building stone, nor soft enough to be easily ground to powder.

Now, the catacombs, with rare exceptions, are all dug in this tufa, which bears no distinctive name, for the simple reason that it was useless for anything, whilst the sand-pits of different sizes communicate with the Catacombs, and show forth very well the enormous difference which distinguishes them from one another. The catacombs have architectonic forms, corners at right angles; the sandpits, on the contrary, do not show any special forms, and their wide passages and easy turns are such as wonld allow the

driving of carts to transport pozzuolana: an impossible thing in the Catacombs. Figs. 5 and 6 demonstrate well the work to be done to change a hundred yards of a sand-pit into a cemetery: retaining-walls and tombs had to be built.

Then again it is an established fact that the Catacombs do not extend under the City, but are always to be found outside the walls; besides, the law also forbade digging and burying within the walls of Rome.

Fig. 7 — The five stories in the cemetery of S. Callistus

Note also that the lowest corridors or passages of the Catacombs are at least fifteen feet above the bottom of the river Almone, and consequently about thirty-five feet above the bottom of the Tiber. A view of fig. 7, presenting a section of the five stories of the cemetery of St. Callistus, the deepest known up to the present, gives us a good demonstration,

Finally, there is nothing more unlikely than couloirs under the beds of rivers; it may be readily understood that humidity itself would have prevented their digging.

Let us conclude: the galleries of the Catacombs, sometimes very long, whose walls were fully lined with tombs, make known their origin by themselves. The object of so many tunnels was purely a funerary one, and as a matter of fact, the oriental system was followed in burying, because it was most in harmony with the dogma of the Resurrection of the body,

Fig. 8 — Etruscan sepulchral paintings.

for the body was to be deposited in virgin soil, there to remain until the day of resurrection.

The Etruscans believed in a future life, which was to take place in the tomb itself; they therefore decorated the interior of the tomb with statues, paintings, and anything capable of making this second imaginary life agreeable. No living eye was to contemplate these paintings and ornaments; the most clever artists were supposed to execute them without any hope that their work should ever be praised or that their names should ever be made known: they had worked for a a dead person, (figs. 8 and 9).

The Romans, on the contrary, those living at the time of the Empire, to whom it was forbidden by

law to deposit any treasures in the tombs, and who placed the idea of another life rather in the fame they would enjoy with posterity, were most careful in ornamenting the tombs externally. These tombs were built

Fig. 9 — Interior of an Etruscan tomb.

as *mausoleums*, mortuary chapels, which should repeat to passers-by the glory of those who were now no more; the *basreliefs* related their achievements and deeds symbolically or allegorically; sometimes even, the bust of the deceased, facing the Road, seemed

to arrest the passer-by, saying to him the very words of the epitaph: « Stop, you (who) pass! Sta, viator! ».

The Catacombs therefore, as may be seen, dug in the form of subterranean passages which united rooms

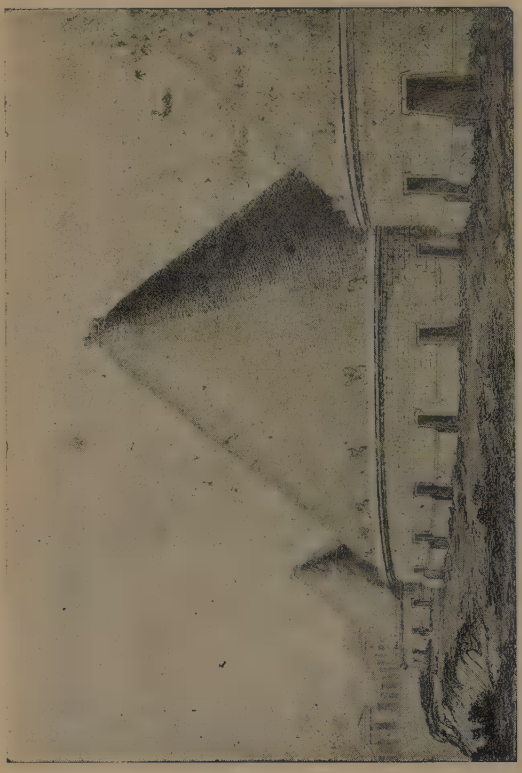

Fig. 10 — Ancient tombs of Cervetri.

or spaces occasionally decorated with paintings, often bare and without any coating or *badigeon*, formed a curious contrast to the surrounding Pagan tombs.

You may get an idea about the matter by examining fig. 11. These mausoleums, resplendent with va-

rious kinds of marble, and lining the consular highways, were followed by catacombal galleries constructed in the fields; they were devoid of nearly all ornament,

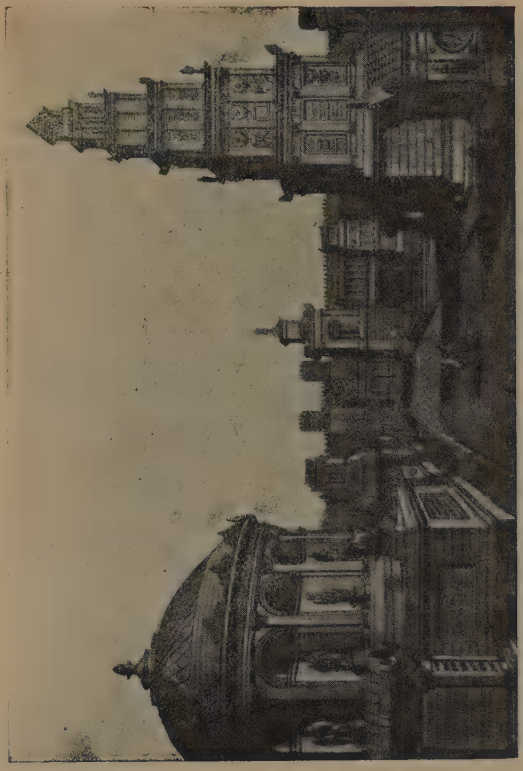

Fig. 11 — Roman tombs of the Via Appia (by Canina)
Taken from the little Church *Quo Vadis* at the Porta San Sebastiano.

and received light from a few oil lamps fixed to the sides of the tombs. What a contrast! Still, these two sorts of tombs had several points of contact, as will be seen in the following article.

ARTICLE III.

Origin of the Christian cemetery.

The Pagan tombs were divided into family tombs, *gentilitia*, and collegiate tombs, *columbaria*. (fig. 12). The Christian catacombs are connected with the former by their origin and foundation; with the latter, by their complete constitution, arrangement.

Fig. 12 — Columbarium of the Via Appia.

It was quite natural for the first patrician families converted to Christianity, to prepare for themselves a tomb in harmony with their beliefs; but it was not less natural for them also, not to conceive instantly and from the very beginning the plan of a subterranean necropolis.

For this reason, their tombs were small underground rooms, and, as a general rule, were marked on the outside by a corresponding monument. The ruins at the entrance to the galleries of the Flavii (fig. 13) prove this. There, indeed, to the right of the Ardentine Way, the members of the family of the Emperor Diocletian, not only dug the magnificent hypogeum, but also built the monument on the outside.

Thus the starting point in the development of

the cemeteries was always, or nearly so, a family tomb. The owner would permit the burial therein of the members of his family converted to Christianity; and then, on account of the ardent charity, making

Fig. 13 — Entrance of the hypogea, gallery of the Flavii.

the first Christians as one soul in one body, he received equally for burial the deceased Christians of his neighbourhood.

Such is the origin of the principal Christian cemeteries of the first and second centuries. The private

right of property protected the common funeral property, and the owner could, to a certain extent, dispose of his tomb to his liking. Roman law and religion declared as *religious* the ground in which a corpse had been deposited, and the severest penalties were decreed against those who would violate tombs. — It is evident that, upon the excessive extension of Christian cemeteries, the magistrates took and had to take cognizance of them.

Therein lay a great danger for the safety of the cemeteries; there was a law, indeed, dating from the time of Emperor Trajan, forbidding illicit colleges, i, e. dissembled or not recognised colleges; this measure had been taken not only against the Christians, but also against all the Oriental sects then swarming in Rome. The Christians therefore tried to expand in depth, by digging two, three, or more stories. (1)

There remained, though, for them one means to justify their extension of cemeteries and to escape the *fiscal* rigour: it was their uniting in « *funeral colleges* ». This step the Christians took, and therein we find a second point of resemblance between the Pagan and the Christian cemeteries. (2)

Certain it is, that the poorer class, and especially the affranchised or freedmen could, under the name of *tenuiores*, (small, needy, of little value) form colleges or societies, and prepare their tombs at less expense.

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(1) It was only after peace was given the Church, it seems, that two more stories were dug where the stone was dry, and above the bottom of the rivers. Hence, Catacombs of 4 or 5 stories).

(2) See my book: Notiones archaeologiae christianae, disciplinis theologicis et liturgicis coordinatae, Desclee, 1999, vol. I, pars prior, p. 299 sqq., fig. 94 and 95).

Examples of such colleges are found in some of the inscriptions discovered: one, at Civita-Lavinia, tells us how even slaves could, with the permission of their master, share this privilege; for, authority recognized the statutes of the college; another prescription was to the effect that the effigy of a slave was to be honoured, whose body had not been given away by his master: still another obliged to refuse the funeral honours to every member of a college who would commit suicide.

No doubt the Christians made use of this liberty. In fact, the cemeteries in Rome and in Africa took this collegiate character; after the death of Valerian, and after the victory of Constantine over Maxentius, restitution of the cemeteries was made, *not* to private persons but to the *Church*. Inscriptions inform us also, that besides these cemeteries, there were others in common: the « *areae* of the brethren », the place where « all the brethren were buried », and others again, administered by the Church ».

The poor and the affranchised could then have *their* cemeteries; before the law and before the college of pontiffs whose duty it was to regulate the « res funeraria, » funeral matters, Christians and Romans were on the same footing; thanks to the *right of association*, the former were able to get in favour of their cemeteries, if not a *legal* existence, at least a practically equivalent toleration.

This state of affairs seemed to assure the Christians of a long and peaceful possession of their cemeteries, when the persecution of Valerius proved to them, all of a sudden, how precarious this condition was. By an imperial edict, the collegiate cemeteries were confiscated, and whoever might be caught assembled there was punished with death.

I shall refrain from insisting upon the vicissitudes of the Christian cemeteries until the peace of Constantine. I shall again speak of them, when describing the cemetery of St. Callistus; I shall draw your attention only to this: if the Catacombs have been used as places of refuge, that has happened rarely and only at the time of the most furious persecutions.

Dominical liturgy, Sunday service, could be celebrated within the enclosure of the cemetery only when it was impossible to hold it in the mansions of the Patricians who were Christians. To this effect, since the third century, they built edifices in the form of *exhedrae,* adapted for these meetings. In case this enclosure was not absolutely sheltered against annoyances, the *arenarea* offered more spacious room and a healthier atmosphere. We know that St. Hippolytus was buried alive in one these sand-pits, where he and his followers gathered, and that the martyrs Chrysanthus, Daria and their companions suffered the same fate.

Such is the true idea one is to form of the Catacombs: of their origin, their development, their tolerated or legal existence. They form, as it were, a net-work about Rome, and their accessible parts count at present several thousand miles of galleries. They are divided into different cemeteries or groups of cemeteries, isolated from one another, because the consular highways and the tombs bordering on them, have put an insuperable obstacle in the way of their extension. To dig under the ground belonging to another, was to violate « property rights »: this is the reason why the ancient highways separate so completely, one from another, thc cemeteries dug along their sides.

Article IV.

Nomenclature of a Christian hypogeum.

Without any doubt, the first Christians had to have a special nomenclature in order to distinguish the different parts of a hypogeum. In the inscriptions we find the terms: *crypta,... cubiculus... locus... arcosolium... bisomus... trisomus... quadrisomus... tabula... formae... luminare... pila... etc. etc...* Today the name of *loculi* is given to the parallelipiped openings, dug in the walls

Fig. 14 — Closed loculus.

of the galleries, in which the bodies were deposited. These openings could hold even two, three or four bodies; hence the names, *bisomus, trisomus, quadrisomus,* from the Greek word: σῶμα, body, corpse, and bi-tri-quadri: two, three, four. The edge was grooved, fitting a tongued slab of marble or of terra cotta, destined to close the tomb; the *joint* of the *loculus* and of the *slab* was covered with mortar or cement. The slab most probably cost more; for it is doubtful whether, before the peace of the Church, the *loculus* had to be bought, as in later years. Then it was not always feasible to get marble; they used tiles, two feet

long, which were broken into several fragments and adapted to the opening of the *loculus* (fig. 14).

The inscription was painted or engraved. Sometimes, nevertheless, they wrote on the mortar still fresh on the border, and they placed some sign there also, or small vases filled with perfumes, in order to recognize the tomb. Rarely a phial containing the blood of the martyr was put there. (figs. 15 and 16).

The *arcosolia* were more elaborate tombs; their name was owing to the fact that an arch was built over

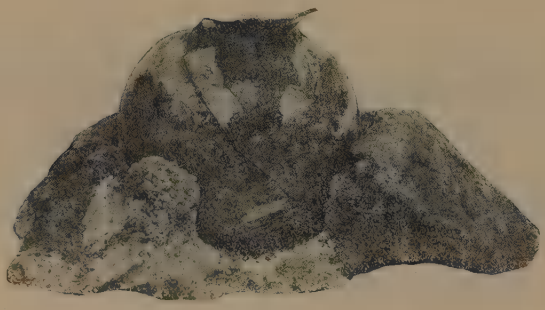

Fig. 15 — Urn affixed to a loculus.

the tomb.In this case the slab was laid horizontally, and could be made use of as an altar for the celebration of the Holy Sacrifice of Mass. The *loculus* and the *arcosolium* were called *locus,* and could hold one or more corpses (fig. 18). Peace being established in the Church, the walls and the *lunettes* of the arcosolia, and the vacant spaces between tombs were often used for other loculi; often bodies were buried under the paving of the corridors; but these tombs showed up since the III century, and received the name of *formae,*

perhaps from the name of water-conduits, bearing this name, and which they resembled.

Lucernaria, sky-lights, light-holes, were large openings

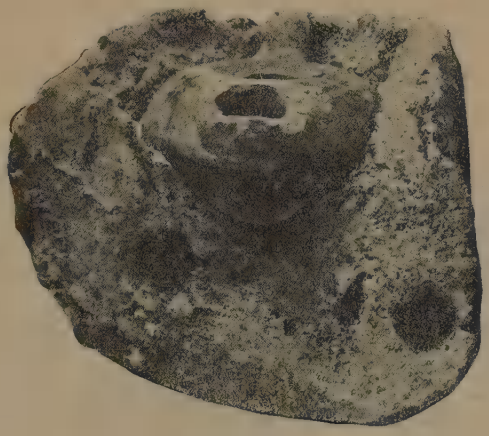

Fig. 16 — Lamp affixed to a loculus.

made through the ceiling of the cubiculi or of the galleries, and communicating with the open air above the ground. They were few during the persecutions, but increased in number in the IV century. They are always to be found above two or more underground contiguous and communicating chambers; the reason for this is readily understood: for during the celebration of the funeral liturgy, which lasted two hours

Fig. 17 — Table-tomb.

or more, it became absolutely necessary to renew the air, in order not to inconvenience the breathing of the faithful, (fig. 19). Other names were certainly used, especially those of catabaticum (a descent, a place to go down), and of pila, pillar, which, however, are found but once in all subterranean Rome (1).

It is easily understood that the uppermost galleries were dug at different times. This is sometimes a very valuable chronological indication, and the learned

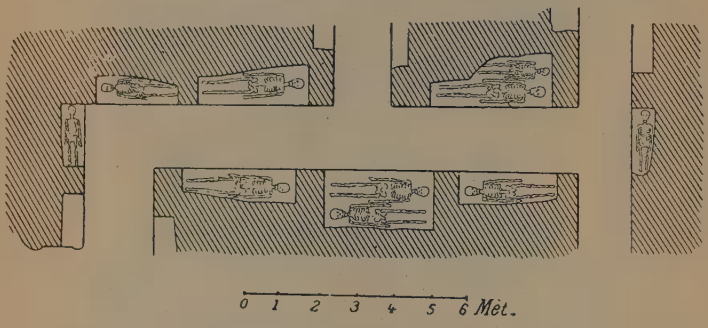

Fig. 18 — Arrangement of bodies in the loculi.

Pr. Bonavenia, S. J., drew the attention of the archaeologists to this fact. An untouched gallery, the only one found until the present time, in the cemetery of Commodilla, may be divided, on account of its height or depth, into three epochs. Now, the most ancient inscriptions are to be found in the highest part, the least ancient in the lowest. A gallery was at first dug somewhat higher than the height of a man; after it was filled with bodies, the dimensions of the gallery were doubled, making it as deep as it was high; finally the lowest part was dug.

(1) See my *Notiones archaeol., christ.*, vol. I, pars I, cap. 3.

The same savant formulated other chronological indications, taken from the regularity of the closings. The most ancient tombs are also the most carefully closed.

The cuts which I put in the text, keep me from insisting any more on this matter. The reader will notice in fig. 17 (p. 29), a form of tomb styled by

Fig. 19 — Cubiculum with light-shaft.

De Rossi sepolcro a mensa, a table-sepulchre, a tomb with a horizontal slab. In reality, we do not know its original name.

The seats dug in the tufa in certain places, were for the use of the pontiffs. The faithful and the clergy had that kind of low benches reserved, which were dug in the tufa all around a cubiculus. They were used either for liturgical meetings, or for the *Agapae*. More likely however the Agapae took place above ground, in the exhedrae and the exterior edifices. There, also,

the habitations of the grave-diggers or excavators and the cemetery-wardens were to be found; the ground all about must have been surrounded by a wall, or covered with all kinds of rubbish, cultivated as a garden, little different, taking all in all, from the areae of the Pagans.

Summary of the preceding articles; abandoning the Catacombs; study of Christian Archaeology.

In the beginning, the Christian cemeteries did not differ from Roman tombs; they were protected by the same legal safeguards; as private properties, they had a legal existence; as collegiate properties, they had a quasi-legal or tolerated, though precarious, existence; their very name indicated the idea they inspired: dormitory, sleeping-place, (dormitorium, accubitorium, in Greek, (κοεμητήριον) They were dug by the grave-diggers belonging to the inferior clergy, but were administered by the Deacons and were subject to their respective ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

Valerian confiscated them a first time; they were restored by his son Gallian after the death of his father; Diocletian confiscated them again, but they were restored partially by Maxentius, and totally by Constantine, in virtue of the edict of Milan, A. D. 313.

This epoch most probably witnessed the first burials at the surface of the ground; they seemed simply to storm those tiny sanctuaries, wherein the Divine mysteries had been so often celebrated during the terrible persecutions; tombs began to rise all around, to be built against the walls, and finally to occupy the very floors of the sanctuaries. (fig. 20).

Nevertheless they continued to bury under ground, on account of the immense and ever increasing number of converts; the Pontiffs Mark, Julius, Liberius, and Damasus, still increase the number and the size

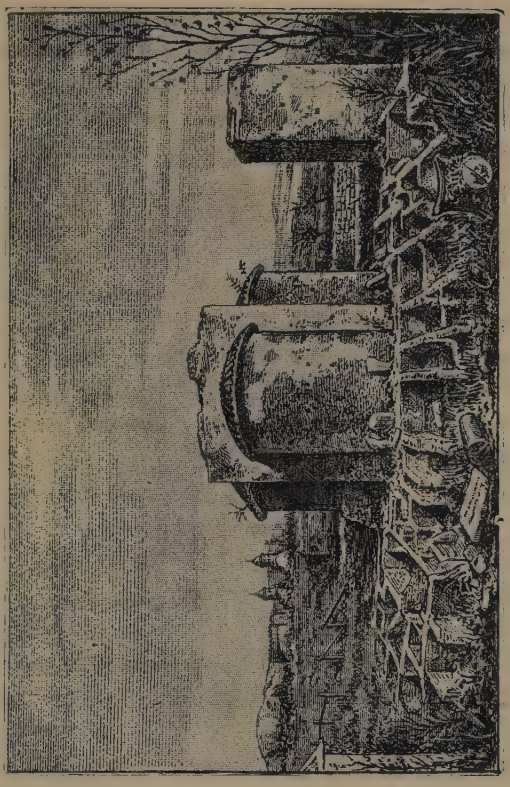

Fig. 20 — Tombs grouped around a cemetery.

of the cemeteries; the smallest space is utilized; a third, a fourth and even a fifth story is added; water alone deeper down, stops the digging.

Then Alaric comes with his barbarians, (410), leaving nought but traces of destruction in his wake;

Immediately after his departure, the tombs of the martyrs were repaired, and the inscriptions renewed. But, lo! another scourge of God, another devastating hurricane breaks upon the Eternal City: the Goths! (537) As soon as it had passed over, the ill-treated and profaned tombs were again and again renovated, until the popes were forced, on account of the repeated assaults of the barbarians, to remove to the interior of Rome the precious remains of the heroes of Faith.

This catastrophy was necessarily followed by another. Since these tombs had been despoiled of their treasures, from having been the object of many pilgrimages they became absolutely abandoned: earth and rubbish closed up the lucernaria; alluvia got into the galleries, the sanctuaries were transformed into farmers'houses, and, under the plough, the venerable souvenirs of the first and most sorrowful struggles of the Church of Rome were scattered confusedly, into a horrible pell-mell.

Then came in oblivion so complete, during many centuries, that nobody knew that there had been catacombs.

Several cemeteries nevertheless always remained known, especially that of Saint Sebastian,: the indications in the Martyrologies, the ecclesiastical Calenders. and the Acts of the Martyrs, gathered in together. as in a group, all the souvenirs of the cemeteries along the Appian Way. In this cemetery they placed the tomb of the Apostles, of St. Sebastian, of the Pontiffs. of St. Cecilia and of her companions; then, an archbishop of Bourges, in 1409, put a solemn inscription there in remembrance of so many and such glorious martyrs. This monument, not very old, is still in its place.

Under the auspices of Pope Pius IX and many be-

nefactors, and thanks to their generous contributions, J. B. De Rossi made discoveries which establish beyond doubt the true location of the cemetery of St. Callistus, distinguishing it, as the Catacombs, forcibly from that of Praetextatus. Those are new pages to the history of the Church reconstituted by means of monuments; these discoveries caused a prodigous development in the study of underground Rome and of Christian antiquitities.

Now, De Rossi. and his illustrious master, Fr. Marchi, S. J. had as predecessors in these studies: Fr. Panvinio, St. Philip Neri, Ciacconio, Winghe, Giovanni Macario, Antonio Bosio, Pompeio Ugonio, Boldetti, Marangoni, D'Agincourt, and many others. They went down into the Catacombs, and there studied the monuments. Antonio Bosio was ahead of them all. « He was the Christopher Columbus of the Catacombs », says De Rossi; his works, published only after his death, in 1634, have helped de Rossi, more thanany other work.

In Chap. II we shall show the results of his studies. The following table shows the cemeteries along the Roman highways. (N. B. Via, means higway.)

Roman highways: Names of cemeteries, Names of cemeteries, time of persecutions, time of peace:

Appian Way:	Cemetery of St Calistus	St. Sixtus, St. Caecilia. St. Cornelius.
	»	St. Januarius. St. Urban.
	Cemetery of Pretextatus	Sts. Tiburtius, Valerianus, and Maximus.
	Ad Catacumbas	St. Sebastian
Ardeatine Way:	Cemetery of Domitilla	St. Petronilla, Ss. Nerius and Achilleus.

Ardeatine Way:	Cem. of Basileus	Ss. Mark and Marcellin
Ostian Way:	Cem. of Commodilla	Ss. Felix and Adauctus
Porto Way:	Cem. of Pontianus or of	Ss. Abdon and Senenn the Ursum pileatum; (the pilar Bear).
Aurelian Way:	Cem. of Lucina	Ss. Processus and Martinian.
»	Cem. of Calipotus	St. Callistus.
Flaminian Way:	Ad Clivum cucumeris, the cucumber hill.	
Ancient Salarian Way:	Cem. of Basilla	St. Hermes. Ss. Protus and Hyacinth.
New Salarian Way:	Cem. of Maximus	St. Felicitas.
	Cem. of Thrason	St. Saturninus.
»	Iordanorum (of the Jordans).	St. Alexander.
»	Cem. St. Priscilla	St. Sylvester, St. Marcellus.
Nomentan Way:	Cem. Ostrianum or ad Nymphas S. Petri (cem. Ostrian, or the Fountain of St. Peter.)	St. Agnes.
Tiburtine Way:	Cem. of Cyriacus	St. Laurence.
Labican Way:	Cem. Ad duos lauros. Of the two laurel-trees	Ss. Marcellinus and Peter.
Latin Way:	Cem. of Apronianus.	St. Eugene.

Chapter II.

Epigraphy and art in the Catacombs

At the beginning of this subject, a question suggests itself: what are the meaning and object of Epigraphy and Art in the Catacombs?

Some students wish to recognise in the catacombal Art at least, and perhaps in Epigraphy and in the symbols relating thereto, an object and a teaching, and a sort of cathechism painted on the walls of the tombs. Others on the contrary, without setting forth any particular ideas, teach, that the end of the Christian sepulchral Art is not different from the end of the Pagan sepulchral Art: they say, that it is a sepulchral Art: hence it has a funeral object and end in view.

The latter class seem to be right, with this exception, that being again divided in two classes, some exaggerate the eschatological idea, as if nothing were expressed on the tombs without reference or allusion to eternal life, or to the obtaining of happiness; others, more specifically objective, see there a predominant paronetic intention, more conformable to the condition of the dead, so they think. We think the latter are right.

This is therefore the way I formulate the preliminary question: just as, upon the Pagan tomb his religious beliefs concerning another life were reflected,

as it were, and also concerning his state and wants: so also, on the tomb of the Christian, there appeared corresponding allusions to the condition of the dead. Our holy Mother the Church taught that nothing undefiled shall enter the kingdom of Heaven; that the period of purification could be shortened by the intercession of the saints and the suffrages of the living, and that the souls, once admitted to eternal beatitude, could, in their turn, become the advocates of the living and the dead. Finally, in her official prayers, to hasten the admission of the departed into Paradise, the Church usually reminds the Lord of the faith of the departed, of the weakness of human nature, of the power and mercy of God. These ideas must needs be reflected in the decorations and inscriptions of the tombs.

It is true, that we may draw a true and profound dogmatical teaching from all; but this teaching was not and can not be the principal end of the sepulchral art. Unless we have the documents, we may not go beyong the limits laid down by history,

Article I.

Epigraphy.

Epigraphy may be considered from a literary or from a doctrinal stand-point. In the first case, the primitive Christian epitaphs do not present valuable models. Now, as regards doctrine, the engraver may never have had the intention of putting forth his own beliefs: true, but the epitaphs make known to us nearly the whole order of religious ideas, which they had drawn from the teachings of the Apostles; we thus face a fact which the Scholastics, following Aritote-

les, have formulated in these words : « Nil volitum quin praecognitum ». « Nothing willed, but has been known before ». These desires, these intimate heart-felt affections, expressed thousands of times in many different ways, on the sepulchral stones, reveal to us the ideas and the faith of those who expressed them there.

In the beginning, and before the time when the Christians had their own formulary, only simple names are found, or, rarely though, the same formulae as in

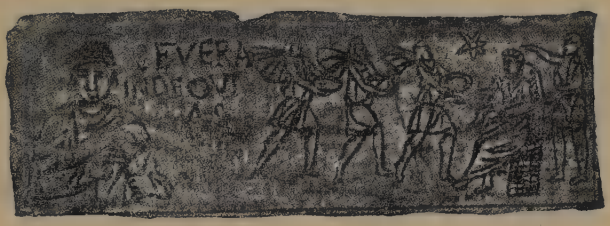

Fig. 21 — « *Severa, live in God !* »

Pagan epigraphy. These names themselves, together with the paleographic character, reveal unto us the antiquity of the inscriptions. The style nevertheless will gradually form itself: it is born of the necessity of the soul ; it springs from the heart, whose affections, elevated by faith and spiritualised, as it were, offer us the most spontaneous and touching prayer ever gone forth from the one to be with GOD : « IN DEO.» In the Lord, In Domino, Vivas in Deo. May thou live in God., Live in God ». This expression is mostly repeated in the II and III centuries. Join with it this wish for peace : « Pax tecum, peace be with thee... Vivas in pace, live in peace, Priscus in pacem (suscipiatur) May Priscus be received in peace ».

The analogy of these formulae allow us to add following : « Eugeni spirituus (spiritus tuus) in bono... « Eugene, may thy spirit be in happiness » ; which is equivalent to this other liturgical one : In pace spiritus Silvani. Amen — May the soul of Silvanus be in peace, Amen ! » Now, both are reproduced in the following » : Baccis dulcis anima in pace Domini — Baccis, sweet soul, be in the peace of the Lord ! »

This type of epigraph was common in all the churches in the world ; the very same formula is found in Latin and in Greek, in the East and in the West, in Africa, in Spain, in Italy, in Gaul and everywhere.

But the formula becomes theologically much more important, when it contains the names of the Blessed Trinity :

Kar Kyriaco filio dolcissimo vibas n Spirito Sancto (N spirito, for in spiritu). Dear Cyriac, sweetest son, live in the Holy Spirit.

How expressive, eloquent and explicit these sentences are in proclaiming the Divinity of Christ ! Here are now a few, in which the Father and the Son are united.

AUGURINE IN DOM(ino) ET ☧ « O Augurinus, live in the Lord and in Christ Iesus.

PAX DOMINI ET ☧ CUM FAUSTINO ATTICO — The peace of the Lord and of the Christ be with Faustinus Atticus !

The inscriptions, having the names of the Blessed Trinity, are rare ; those uniting the names of the first and the second Persons are more numerous : De Rossi remarks, therefore, most justly that this is owing to the Gnostic heresies. In different ways, they destroyed the mystery of the Trinity ; but their errors related to the Father and to the Son ; they confoun

ded them as if They were ONE PERSON, or they destroyed the Divinity of Christ, or made the Father to suffer. The formulae, then: in Domino et Iesu Christo — pax Domini et Christi — Εν Θεῳ καὶ ἐν χριστῳ and others, which are similar, are affirmations of the true doctrine of the Church in those times, when the dogmatical divergences were so alive.

Here is a very old epitaph, mentioning the Trinity:

IUCUNDIANUS qui credidit in CHRISTUM IESum vivit (or, vivat) in patrE. ET ISPiritu sancto. Iucundianus who believed in Jesus Christ, lives (or let him live) in the Father, and the Son and the Holy Ghost.

The Angels are not forgotten; in the most ancient prayers for the departed, these celestial spirits are asked to hasten to meet the soul and to present it to the Almighty:

SEVERO FILIO DVL
CISSIMO LAVRENTIVS,
PATER BENEMERENTI QVI BI
XIT ANN. IIII. ME. VIII. DIES. V.
ACCERCITVS AB ANGELIS VII. IDVS. IANVA.

To Severus, sweetest son, most deserving, Lawrence, his father. He lived four years, eight months, and five days. He was summoned by the Angels, the seventh day of the Ides of January.

This formula is either the commentary of a sentence of St. Cyprian, or it may be inspired by the same; he calls death accersio dominica, the call of the Lord. This same formula, more complete, has been found in a mutilated inscription, completed by De Rossi in this way: Domine qui dedisti omnibus accersionem, suscipe animam Bonifati per santum nomen tuum. Lord who

callest all to Thyself, receive the soul of Boniface, by Thy holy name ».

There is still another class of epitaphs which must need hold our attention : it refers to the belief in a place of purification, before being admitted to Paradise. The Protestants have always denied this dogma· have always been willing to do so. For all that, they ought to admit their wrong in face of the eloquence of the monuments.

Here are some inscriptions :

« Spiritus tvvs in refrigerio : May thy soul be in a refreshing place ». « Augvste in bono refrigeres dvulcis. O sweet August, mayest thou be refreshed in the (sovereign) good, happiness ».

Such inscriptions are very numerous, This idea of refreshment, obtained through the prayers of the living, or through the intercession of the saints, cannot be understood otherwise than as a passing from purgatory to paradise. Paradise is precisely called a place of refreshment, and in the visions of St. Perpetua, we read that the saint saw her deceased brother Dinocrates quenching his thirst at a fountain, after she had offered prayers for this his relief: Vidi Dinocratem refrigerantem ; I saw Dinocrates quenching his thirst.

The canon of Mass, in the Roman missel, at the Memento for the dead, has the same expression : « Ipsis, Domine, et omnibus in Christo quiescentibus locum refrigerii, lucis et pacis, ut indulgeas deprecamur. To these, O Lord, and to all who rest in Christ, grant, we pray Thee, a place of refreshment, of light and of peace ».

This accord between the funeral liturgies and the epigraphic formulae is admirable, indeed ; this harmony is an indication of the very high antiquity of

this sort of prayers. There is a conformity, most perfect, of sentiments and practices between the first Christians and the Christians of today. I have already said, that the dogma of the Communion of Saints is natural in the mind of the Christian.

This belief, contained in Revelation and proposed by the Church, answers a real need of the soul; which makes it still more evident. What is most consoling for us, is the fact, that not only the whole of Tradition, represented by the Fathers, but also the most popular, the most public and the most solemn testimony, I mean to say, « the epitaphs » attest to an order of ideas absolutely similar. We believe in the intercession of the saints, of the souls of the departed who have arrived at their heavenly glory; it seems to us, that if the souls in purgatory could speak to us, they would repeat the words of Job: « Miseremini mei miseremini mei, saltem vos amici mei... quia manus Domini tetigit me. Have pity on me, have pity on me, at least you my friends, for the hand of the Lord has stricken me ».

Now let us examine the Christian epitaphs, and we shall see this admirable harmony of doctrine and sentiments:

« Santi martyres apud Deum erunt advocati: The holy Martyrs shall be (our or your) advocates with God ».

« Commando Basilla innocentia(m) Gemelli (Sant) Basilla: I recommend (unto thee) the innocence of Gemellus ».

« Martyres sancti in mente havite Maria(m). O holy martyrs, bear Mary in mind ».

« Refrigeri tibi dom(i)nus (H)ip(p)olitus. May St. Hippolytus refresh thee. i. e. may he obtain refreshment for thee through his intercession ».

Ruta omninus subdita et affabil.
Lis bibet in nomine petri.
In pace.

« Ruta obedient, and affable towards all, shall live in the name of Peter (by his protection), in the peace of Christ ».

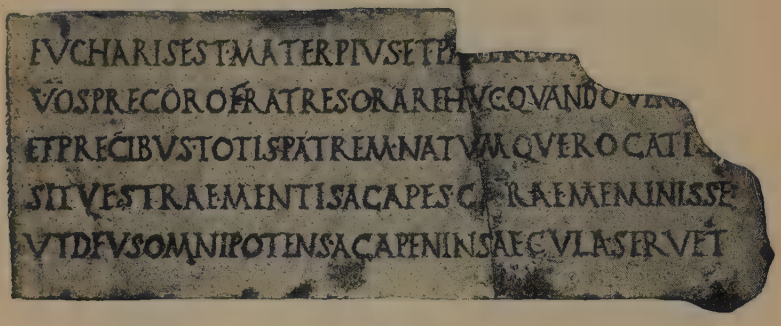

Fig. 22 — Cemetery of Priscilla, II century.

« Vos precor o Fratres orare hvc qvando venitis
et precibvs totis Patrem Natvmque rogatis
Sit vestrae mentis Agapes carae memenisse
Vt Devs Omnipotens Agapen in saecvla servet.

« I beseech you, brethren when you come here to pray, and when with your whole soul you invoke the Father and the Son, remember dear Agape, that the Almighty God keep Agape for all eternity. (Cut. 24) »

What a sweet prayer! According to classical epigraphy, the departed herself addresses this prayer to her brethren in Christ.

« Qvisque de fratribus legerit roget Devm vt sancto et innocente spirito (u) ad Devm suscipiatur. May each of the Brethren, after having read, pray God, that his holy and innocent soul may be received by the Lord ».

In case of an innocenl soul, for instance of an infant, the parents would recommend themselves to it as a saint, in this manner: « Pete pro parentes (parentibus) Uvos (turs) Matronata Matrona quae vixit annvm i dies lii. Pray for your parents. O Matrona, who have become a Matron. She lived one year and fifty-two days. »

But if they believed the departed to be yet in purgatory, before recommending themselves to his or her prayers, the Christians would wish him or her, peace, refreshment: (fig. 23).

Fig. 23 — « *Sive in peace and pray for us.*

« Zoson, berus spiritvm tvvm in pacem (svscipiat) et pete pro nobis. Zoson May the true Saviour, Christ, receive thy soul in peace. And pray for us ».

(Fig. 24) Gentianus fidelis in pace. Qui vixit annis XXI mens (mensibus) VIII. In oralionis (orationibus) tuis roges pro nobis quia scimus te in. May faithful Gentianus repose-in peace. He lived 21 years, 8 months, and 16 days. In thy prayers intercede for us for we know that thou art with Christ ».

« Vincentia in Christo pete pro Phoebe et pro Virginio ejus.

Vincentia, live in Christ! Pray for Phoebe and for her Virginius ».

Virginius and *Virginis* were generally the names of the two spouses who had contracted but this one marriage.

This is sufficient to give us an idea of the impor-

tance of our subject. Much could yet be said concerning the destiny of the soul after death.

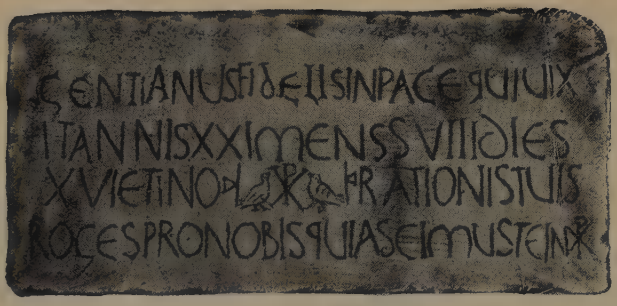

Fig. 24.

Pertaining to this, the epitaph of deacon Severus reproduced in the description of the cemetery of St. Callixtus (1).

Article II.

Epigraphy and the Sacraments.

In reference to this matter, also Christian epigraphy furnishes us with precious documents and gives us informations which would be sought for in vain in the writings of the Fathers.

Baptism : It is the gate of, the entrance to, the Church. It is the first grace by excellence. With it began a new existence, and this idea is expressed in the inscriptions on the tombs.

(1) Who wishes to get a more extended knowledge of Christian epigraphy, may consult my « Notiones archael. christ. vol. II, lib. I, ». The treatise on Epigraphy may be bought separately.

« Benemerenti Antoniae Cyriaceti quae vixit annis XVIII M. II D. XXVI accepta dei gratia qvarta dle virgo obiit, To the memory of the very worthy Antonia Cyriaces who lived 19 years, 2 months and 26 days and died a virgin, the fourth day after having received the grace of God (Baptism).

The formula « accepta gratia Dei » was the customary one; the ecclesiastical name for Baptism is never met with; it may have been on account of the *arcanum* The formula changed, though, one word was used: accepit, recepit, percepit, consecutus or consecuta est, he or she received Baptism, consecutio, reception of Baptism: For instance:

« Perit ann. XXXV ex die acceptionis svae vixit dies Lvll;

He died at the age of 35 years, the 57th day after his Baptism;

Consecutus est II non. decembr. ex die consecutionis in saeculo fvit ad vsque VII Idvs Decembr. He obtained (the grace of baptism, and lived in this world until the 7th of December.

Tyche dvlcis'oixit anno vno' mensibus x diebus xv' Accapit VIII K. Reddidit die SS. O sweet Tyche! She lived 1 year, 10 months and 15 days, received baptism the... and gave up her spirit the same day. (SS. means. « as above written). »

(Fig. 25) These examples show us how important te the early Christians was the title of *faithful,* and prove that baptism was administered to children. A faithful wrote upon his tomb: ΠΙΣ-ΤΕΣ ΕΧ ΠΙΣΤΕΝ ΖΕΣΙΜΕΣ

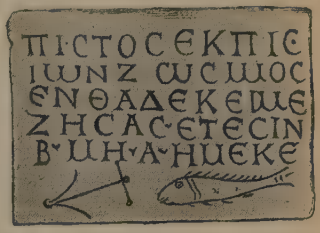

Fig. 25 — (Wilpert, *Prinz der christ. Arch.*, pl. II, 3).

« faithful born of faithful parents. Sosmos... » formula which imitated the proud formula of the noble consuls: consul ex consulibus, consul born of consular parents ».

An inscription shows us, how a woman who loved tenderly her grand-child, seeing him near death, asked the Church to have him baptized before his death.

Confirmation. The sacrament of Confirmation which confers the Holy Ghost, and was administered immediately after Baptism was, so to say, absorbed by the importance of the first sacrament; then again the discipline of the *arcanum* did not allow the use of formulae too explicit.

It were therefore useless to seek a proper name for the sacrament of Confirmation in the inscriptions. *Consignatorium* was the name for the place where the sacrament was administered: hence the words, « *consignatio, consignatus* » which mean the marking, the character, signed or marked with the chrism. In this we are borne out by the most ancient Fathers, and especially by the words of St. Cornelius about Novatian: « Signaculo chrismatis ab episcopo consignatus non est, unde nec Spiritum sanctum unquam potuit promereri. Novation was never signed with the sign of chrism, (was never confirmed), and hence he could never have received the Holy Ghost ».

The inscriptions containing the same expression must be understood in the same sense; v. g.

Picentiae legitimae neophitae die v kal. sept. consignatae a Liberio papa... To Picentia, legitimate neophyte who on Sept. 27th, was confirmed by Pope Liberius. Other expressions are found which demand too lengthy commentaries here (1).

(1) See. my Notiones archaeol. christ. vol. II. l. I.

Eucharist and Penance. We ought to speak here of the sacraments of the Eucharist and Penance. No direct and explicit mention of the Christian initiation held good, a fortiori, for these two sacraments, and most likely the mystery which surrounded the administration of these sacraments gave ground for the shameful calumnies thrust at the Christians. Let us remark, in particular, that, before the Apology of St. Justin, we do not find anything to give us an idea of the eucharistic ceremonies.

There are some, who, from the silence of the epitaphs and from the obscurity of patristic texts, would wish to draw the conclusion, that the auricular confession came into existence later on, and who, in so doing, rest upon the negative argument of tradition: Answering them, we shall say: if it was customary to confess one's sins publicly, the most enormous and shameful sins, how much the more were they confessed sacramentally, that is, secretly; sometimes the public confession was a consequence of the secret confession (1).

(1) We are speaking to those who admit as argument only tradition and their own judgment; for, the man who has no mental aversion against the substance of this sacrament, and especially the man who is in the habit of receiving it with proper dispositions, knows very well, what a help for the moral uplift and progress of the soul this sacrament is, taking it even from the human stand-point. This sacrament is grouded on the words of Jesus Christ (Matt. XVIII, 18, John X, 21. etc.), and sanctioned by the infallible authority of the Church; it produces in the consciences that peace and that joy, which are the fruit of the Divine word. Besides, taking into consideration the delicacy of the subject, it is well to remember, that the first Christians were little diffe-

There are nevertheless a few allusions to Penance: « Adiutor qui post acceptam poenitentiam migravit ad Dominum: Adjutor, who after receiving penance, went to the Lord ».

We shall speak of the Eucharist in the chapter on paintings.

Article III.

Art in the Catacombs.

Men have at all times been most careful to make, keep, and perfect what was most dear to them. To explain here the reasons of so evident a phenomenon, would be superfluous. Applying directly this principle to the Christian tombs, I will say that the first Christians considered it their sacred duty to decorate generally the tombs of their dear ones, and, when possible, to establish some relation between this decoration and the state of the deceased. It can hardly be understood that they had another end in view, unless they be considered as men quite different from other men, devoid of the most natural sentiments and who lacked that instinct which is one of the most powerful means of showing our affection towards the dead.

The inscriptions have shown us those most tender and spiritual sentiments: the substitutes for suffering

rent from ourselves, in understanding the great necessity of safeguards for the administration of this sacrament: hence the nature of the mention of it in public writings, and especially in the epigraphs, which were most intimately personal.

were prayer and the desire of eternal beatitude for the soul of the departed.

Although Art does not seem to change in character, nevertheless it points eminently to the funeral;

Fig. 26.

Fig. 27.

Carved gems with the twelve Apostles around the Cross: double size.

its inspiration is marked by the prayers of the people and the liturgical service for the dead.

It is also evident, since it was a question of the deepest mysteries of religion and of doctrinal thoughts,

Fig. 28.

Fig. 29.

Symbols of the Cross, of souls and of Christ carved upon gems. In fig. 30, the anchor has the form of a boat; the mast has the form of a cross.

that they were represented in a hidden and allegorical manner, in order not to reveal certain dogmatical notions to such as were not to know them, nor expose them to scorn or profanation.

You understand therefore why Christian Art in the first five centuries in the West ignores the Cross;

why, in the East, it appears very seldom and only on objects for personal use, such as gems or rings; why, in all subterraneous Rome, only five inscriptions with crosses were found, belonging to the centuries of persecution; meantime this august sign was represented by the anchor, the Greek letter *tau*, and the trident.

Fig. 30.
« *In Christ* »

The most profound mystery enshrouded the Eucharist; in the representation of this sacrament, epigraphy is in happy accord with the paintings. Let us examine for a moment the different subjects forming the cycles of the funeral paintings; the following are their elements:

Christ. — The idea of the Saviour is represented by the figure of a fish; or by its Greek name ἰχθύς (fish), or by the initals IX or XP intertwined in the monogram, ✳ that is, Ἰησοῦς Χριστός « Jesus Christ », and ☧, that is, Χριστός« the Christ ». The letter in the X is not the English capital P, but the Greek capital for the letter R: hence XP = ChR (istos), Christ.

How the acceptation of the fish as a symbol for Christ originated, has not as yet been made fully clear. There are some who retrace it to the Sibylline canto, whose twenty-seven verses begin with as many letters, forming the acrostic: Ἰησους Χρειστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτήρ: Jesus Christ. Son of God, Saviour. This is the most laconic and explicit « *credo* » concerning Christ. Placing the initials of the five words, side by side, the word ΙΧΘΥΣ is formed, which means *fish*.

This explanation would be irrefutable, if before the epoch of the Sibylline canto, other symbols of Christ

in the form of a fish were not found. Some thought that it was simply an imitation of the true Sibylline canto, which imitation dates from the time of Antoninus Pious. If that is so, then it only remains

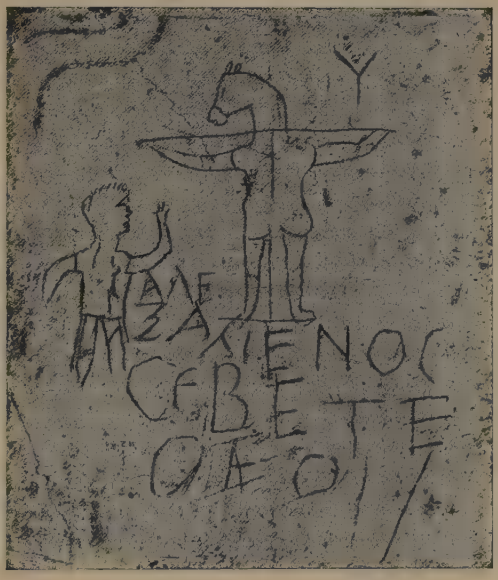

Fig. 31 — Blasphemous cross found on the Palatine.

to recognize in the Gospel itself the origin of this symbol, either in the narration of the multiplication of the loaves and fishes, or in the repast of the seven disciples on the border of lake Tiberias, when they ate roasted fishes. However that may be, the monuments, as we shall soon show, leave no doubt concerning the meaning of the fish in catacombal Art.

Baptism. — As a prototype of this sacrament, the Baptism of Christ in the crypt of Lucina was represented since the first half of the second century. The sub-

ject is treated historically, with the adult Christ. Later on, we find it again painted, with the infant Saviour, to indicate that spiritual infancy of which the liturgy speaks.

It is the same custom in plastic art; even until about the VI century, we do not meet with the picture of the adult Christ about to be baptized by the Precursor.

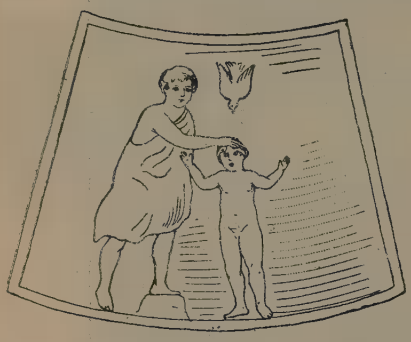

Fig. 32 — Cemetery of Ss. Peter and Marcellinus.

The baptism of the catachumen appears in the same manner in the catacombal art. The inscriptions of the IV century repeatedly show us examples of adults called infantes, infants, pueri, little children — because they are dead during their spiritual infancy, lasting at that time from Easter Sunday to Sunday « In Albis ».

There were yet other types of baptism; for instance :

1. Moses and the miraculous fount in the desert; 2. The fisherman; 3. Noah's ark; 4. Perhaps the paralytic.

Moses striking the rock, was the very source of grace coming from the stone, that is, from Christ: Petra autem erat Christus (14).

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(11) Tertull., Ce baptismo, cap. 9.
(12) Clement of Alexandria, Paedag, 3.
(13) Tertull, de baptismo, cap. 8.
(14) I Corinth.. X, 3.

Thus the Christian artists sometimes put the name *Petrus* above the head of *Moses*, indicating the Moses of the new law, the first distributor of grace; the Fathers of the IV and V centuries have attributed, figuratively, to Peter the act of striking the mystical rock; and the compenetration of the two legislators in

Fig. 33 — (Marucchi, *Man. d'arch. chrét.*, p. 307).

the Christian art was so intimate, that the iconographic type of Moses is that of Peter also (fig. 33).

On a dish of Podgoritz we read: « *Petrus percussit virga, fontes coeperunt currere* » — « *Peter struck with his rod, and the founts began to run* ». This legend represents precisely the mystical rock. Lastly, a glass in the British Museum presents a curious variation; it is a chair (cathedra) having its back against a rock from which the sacred water is gushing.

Eucharist. — The spiritual life which began with baptism was kept up by a nourishment equally spi-

ritual, viz, the body and blood of the Saviour, under the species of bread and wine.

An inscription of the end of the II century shows us the secret sense of the banquet of the fish, so often found painted on the walls of the catacombs. Here are the text and translation :

« *Faith* then led me, and set before me as nourishment the F I S H from a single fountain, very large (the fish), very pure, that the chaste Virgin held in her arms; that she gave to its (his) friends to eat everywhere, having excellent wine, giving it as a mixed drink (wine mixed with water) together with bread.

Let everyone who understands these things, with one voice pray for me » (1).

The language is allegorical, as may be seen, and addressed to those capable of understanding, and whose prayers are requested.

Fig. 34 — Communion for the Greek inscription.

O t h e r Christians, speaking the same language, made use of ideograms. Tertullian had already said that the Christians were, « relatively to the fish Jesus Christ, as little fishes born from water » (2).

The learned Benedictine Dom (later Cardinal) Pitra, found an inscription at Autun which names the Christians « the divine race of the celestial fish » (3).

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(1) Paul Allard, Rome souterr., l'art chretien, p. 315.
(2) Tertull de baptismo, cap. 1.
(3) Lenormant. Mélanges d'archéol. t. IV, p. 118.

« O divine race of the celestial ICHTHUS (Fish), receive with a heart full of respect immortal life among mortals. Give youth to thy soul, my friend, in the divine waters by the eternal streams of Wisdon, giving true riches. Receive the delicious nourishment of the Saviour of the saints: eat, drink, having (holding) the ICHTHUS with both hands ».

This inscription may go back as far as the time of St. Irenaeus, since it reflects the ideas and style of the holy doctor; it conveys clearly the meaning of the « *fish* » which we notice often served to those sitting at the banquets as painted on the tombs of Christians;

Fig. 35 — Eucharistic symbols.

it explains also, with the text of Tertullian, why the faithful themselves were represented here and there under the figure of small fishes, as may been seen in fig. 34 and 35.

Here, as in the paintings, we see the loaves towards which the fishes are swimming to eat; elsewhere the loaves alone are represented; then again, in the most ancient paintings, the cup is added: thus in the crypt of Lucina, these cups are represented as if they were of glass, permitting to see the reddish liquid within.

Besides, governing all these symbols, we find the idea of the multiplication of the loaves and fishes. Often about these banquets of the divine ICHTHUS,

we find baskets filled with loaves marked with a cross, sometimes seven and other times twelve in number; once, by error or for the sake of symmetry, there are eight. Here though, the idea of the miracle is not the salient one, but that of nourishment; the constant number seven reminds us that there is question of the mystical meaning of this number, and of an allusion to the repast on the border of lake Tiberias, where

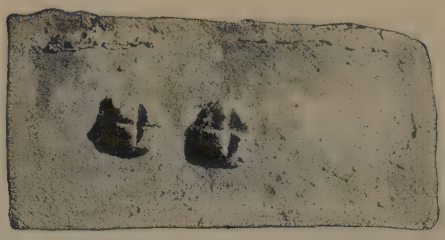

Fig. 36 — (WILPERT, *Breaking of bread*, fig. 19, p. 83).

seven disciples after the miraculous catch of fishes, says St. John, ate broiled fish.

The meaning of such paintings cannot therefore be doubted. Origen had already spoken of the multiplication of the loaves as a well-known figure of the Eucharist, and as a thing so common that it needed no commentaries (1).

In the IV century this teaching becomes so general, that all the Fathers are witnesses to it.

The *miracle of Cana* was also to become the symbol of the Eucharist. In the III century, St. Cyprian commented in this sense upon the change of water into wine (2).

(1) Origen., Comment. in Natth., I, X, par, 25.
(2) Cyprian., Ep., LXIII, 12.

Some archaeologians who seem never to have seen the catacombs, have tried to diminish the value of these interpretations. Their system has finally been discredited by the poverty of their negative arguments and by the unlikelihood of their interpretations, especially by their errors concerning those general notions, well known to all, which no one dare be ignorant of, who wishes to speak of antique Christian art (1).

The question might be asked, what relation these two sacraments have to the state of the departed. We answer: the same relation as exists between the words of Abercius, asking those who understand his symbolical language, for their prayers, and the state of Abercius. We find this kind of prayer in the most ancient liturgies: Our Lord was asked to receive into His peace the soul of the departed, because he or she had faith in the mysteries of Christ. We read the following in an ancient Roman liturgy for a man who died immediately after receiving the sacrament of baptism: O Lord, Who receivest into the heavenly

(1) See a summary of the refutations of this system in:

Duchesne. Bulletin critique, 1897, p. 117.

W. Schultz, Theolog. Litteraturblatt, 1894, May 11th, and Culy 27 th ;

Wilpert, Fractio panis, p. 95 and sqq.;

Marucchi, Les catacombes et le protestantisme, Desclee., etc. ; My own articles, in the Ephemerides liturgicae, 1908, Febr., Sept., Oct., Nov., Dec., 1909 Ian numbers.

A propos of the meaning of the fish: as I was explaining one day to a group of savants, amateurs and professors the hidden sense of the paintings, one of those listening to me (he was a professor in a University) objected that fishes were found also in the paintings of Pompei and on the Egyptian obelisks. A near-by jester, a Neapolitan I think, answered him: « My dear professor, there are also fishes in the ocean ! »

kingdom only those who are born a second time by water and the Holy Ghost, have mercy upon the soul of Thy servant, and whereas Thou hast caused him to die without sin immediately after his baptism, grant unto him the plenitude of eternal life (1).

Generally, says Mgr. WILPERT, the departed, « those who had put on God by or in the waters of baptism » are thus designated in the most ancient chants (Qâle) of the oriental Syriac Church, later Nestorian, as far back as the X century, and in the liturgical literature of all the Syriac churches (2).

In as far as the Eucharist is concerned, nothing could be more evident. Jesus Himself has established this symbol, saying in the gospel of St. John: « He who eateth MY Flesh and drinketh My Blood hath everlasting life; and I will raise him up on the last day ». These words show clearly that Eucharist is the pledge and price of resurrection and everlasting life. The Church in her liturgy, gives us to understand this in a thousand ways: we read this very ancient oration: « Look down with kindness, O Lord, upon all the faithful departed; forgive them their sins, pardon their faults, because in their members there are the flesh and blood of Thy Only Son (3).

However, we find this same sort of ideas at the end of the inscription of Autun spoken of above, where Pectorius invites his friend who is serving him, to eat full and plenty of the divine FISH, and asks his pa-

(1) Muratori, Liturg. Rom. vetus, I, 755, WILPERT, Le pitture delle catac, rom., p. 236 ss.

(2) WILPERT loc. cit. p. 235.

(3) Renaudot, Liturg. orient., II, p. 450 ss.

rents and brothers not to forget him: « Be satiated then with the fish, Lord and Saviour, I wish it to you. I beseech Thee, O Light of the departed, grant a sweet repose to my mother. Ascandius, my father, so dear to my heart, with my mother and my brothers, in the peace of the FISH, remember Pectorius! »

The Last Things or Ends. — Next to the symbol of Baptism and the Eucharist, we have the symbols of the last ends, i.e., the resurrection of Lazarus, the history of Jonas, sometimes both together; there is also the representation of the soul before Christ, as Judge.

Methinks, the poet Prudentius had before his eyes this series of symbolical subjects when, after describing in his Apotheosis the gathering-in by the disciples of the fragments of the loaves, when the people had been satiated (symbol of the Eucharist), all of a sudden thinks himself unworthy to sing these holy mysteries, and he abruptly evokes Lazarus from his tomb:

SED QUID EGO HAEC AUTEM TITUBANTI VOCE RETEXO
INDIGNUS QUI SANCTA CANAM? PROCEDE SEPULCRO
LAZARE . . . . (1).

But wherefor shall I repeat these things with a trembling voice, that, unworthy as I am, I shall sing sacred things? Come forth from tomb, O Lazarus.

This image of Lazarus is repeated often in the ancient funeral liturgies, and even now the Church chants in her office of the dead: « Thou who hast raised Lazarus from his tomb, who already gave forth odor, give rest to the departed and be indulgent towards them ».

(1) Vers. 736 ss).

The same observation refers to the history of Jonas, which is represented so often in the paintings of the catacombs and on the bas-reliefs of the tombs. Of deep signification is the form of that dragon given constantly to the marine monster swallowing the pro-

Fig. 37 — (Wilpert, *Le pitture delle Catac. rom.*)

phet: doubtless, to represent eternal death and the infernal dragon. God will know how to save the soul from the jaws of the dragon as he formerly saved Jonas. The harmony of this symbol with liturgy is perfect: besides the prayers falsely attributed to Cyprian but which belong to the III century, an *ordo* mentioned by *Martène,* (1) the Roman liturgy and other writings, and the monuments, render the same testimony.

A slab of a tomb, mentioned by Garrucci and Perret,

(1) Martène De antq. Eccl. ritibus, I, p. 899).

represents a dead person between a lion and a dragon and is certainly inspired by an ancient prayer in which they besought the Lord to protect the dead against the assaults of these two personifications of the demon (1).

Judgment of the soul. — There is a series of paintings which were interpreted differently in former times; Mgr. Wilpert has explained them, as representing the particular judgment of the soul. The dead is presented by one or two saints before the eternal Judge, sitting on a cathedra, a chair, bench, and they plead the case of the dead. (fig. 37).

These paintings have some analogy with the obscene adorers of Jupiter Sabazios; those syncretists borrowed some ideas from the Christians and mixed them in with their paganism. (See fig. 38 and 39, both types beside one another).

If anything could possibly destroy all doubts, it would certainly be a stone found during the last excavations in the cemetery of St. Callistus by the Reverend Trappist Fathers, under the effective direction of the Commission of Sacred Archaeology. (Fig. 37.

The departed, Theodoulos (servant of God) is before Christ the Judge, Our Lord sitting upon a tribunal, and giving him the sign of peace whilst He receives him amongst His sheep. Christ is indicated by the very name written above His head in the monogram ☧ and the name of the departed, the same as that of the inscription, engraved on the threshhold of the tribun l. Could any one think of a scene more

(1) Le Blant, Sarcophages d'Arles, p. XXX, IV: « Non se opponat leo rugiens et draco devorans, miserosum animas rapere consuetus ». « Let not the roaring lion or the devouring dragon oppose him, used as they are to snatch the souls of the miserable ».

distinctly symbolical? The idea of Law seems expressed on the other side: there is a book or diptych open at the side of the person holding it; next to the person is written: *Moses Prophet*: The inscription ends with the acclamation, « EIC AΓAΠHN » referring to the

Fig. 38 — Syncretist painting, IV century, judment of the soul.

celestial feast or the heavenly happiness indicated by this name. We have this same formula in other epitaphs. (Fig. 40) « Juste, nomen tuum in Agapen,: O Justus, may thy name be written in the heavenly banquet ».

The subject is very interesting, even for those who do not share the faith nor the hope of the first Christians. We shall treat it « ex professo » in the third book of my Notiones archaeologiae christianae.

Among the symbols mentioned there are some which indicate the help of God in the midst of trials. These also are the inspirations from prayers and especially from those which the priest recites, even nowadays, at the bedside of the dying. In the main,

Fig. 39 — Christian painting, IV century, Judgment of the soul.

the dominant idea is one of divine Omnipotence, which will save the departed, from the clutches of the demon as it once saved Noa, Moses, Jonas, Suzanna, Daniel, the three children, Lazarus, the paralytic, the woman with a bloody issue, etc. It is a prayer to Christ, beseeching Him to save the soul of the departed, and it is at the same time a protestation of that faith which is a pledge of eternal life, as the inscriptions tell us: « He, writes pope Damasus, Who walked upon the sea, Who gives life to the grain dying in the

ground, Who could deliver Lazarus from the bonds of death, and Who after three days gave Martha her brother, will raise me up again, me also Damasus, because I believe ».

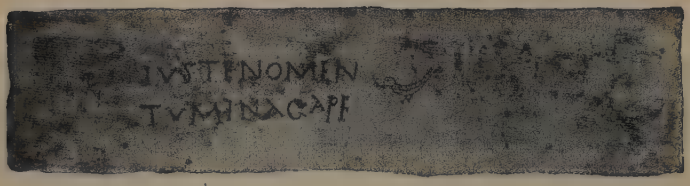

Fig. 40 – Museum of the Lateran: Iuste, nomen tuum in Agapan.

Here is another inscription to confirm what I have just said:

« In Christum credens praemia lucis habet: Believing in Christ, he has received the reward of light. »

Other ideas are added to the foregoing. I shall not

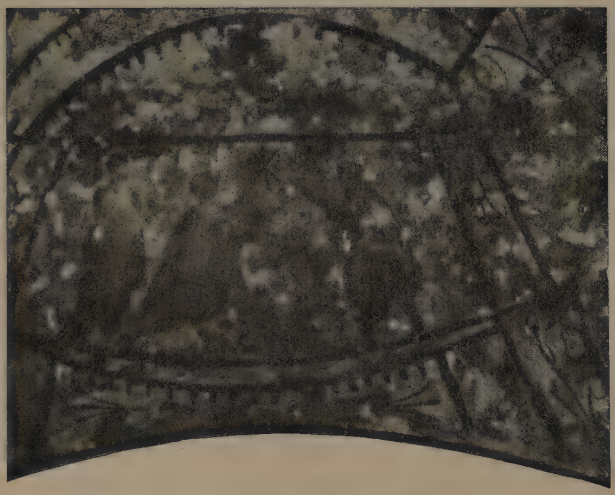

Fig. 41 — The Three Magi and the Star forming the monogram, Ιησοὺς Χριστός.

point them out here, but will expose them in the visits; I shall note here only those relating to the Virgin Mary and to the Good Shepherd.

The blessed Virgin. — The Virgin appears for the first time in the catacombs of St. Priscilla at the beginning of the II century (fig. 42). She is seated, bearing the infant Jesus in her arms. The prophet Isaias is standing in front of her, pointing to the star. Without doubt, there is question of the famous prophecy, figured as well as realized (See page 1).

The painter represents to us the Incarnation, an article of faith, and reveals to us the meaning of the star seen in other monuments. It is the light foretold by Isaias, which we find so often expressed in epigraphic monuments. This light is Christ descended from heaven to enlighten all mankind; Christ is also the light of the departed, as we read in the numerous epitaphs and monuments of the Orient and in the inscription of Autun. Now, the very name of « light » becomes the proper name for eternal beatitude.

Fig. 42 — Epiphany or Manifestation.

An inscription found by Boldetti in the cemetery of St. Priscilla, speaking of a dead person, says that she was not deprived of immortal light, because she had with her the immortal *Ichthus*. Ἰχθύς.

Hence these formulae: «The joys of light - heavenly light - the lighted places », meaning the happiness of paradise. Therefore the way to heaven was called *Via Lucis* - the way of the Light ».

The other images of the Virgin represent the adoration of the Magi, that is, recognition of Christ, faith in His divinity. The fact that the Virgin is seatd on a cathedra and in the first rank, is an argument in favor of the cult rendered to her. Assuredly, this cult could not be as explicit in those times as later on: the condition even of art, the necessity of concentrating the veneration of the faithful in the person of Christ, Whose divinity was so often attacked by the heretics, and the precarious situation of the Church, did not allow this cult to develop more rapidly.

Fig. 43 — Epiphany or Manifestation.

But this condition is common with other dogmas: what pertains to certain sacraments and their distinctive characters, the documents of tradition reveal but little to us. The contrary would surprise us, taking the conditions as exposed above.

There is nevertheless a question which finds its solution in the numerous representations of the adoration of the Magi. Holy Writ speaks of three gifts, but says naught about the number of the Magi. Mgr. Wilpert, my learned master, has observed that, for reasons of symmetry, that is, whenever the Virgin is seated,-for instance in the middle of the lunette of the arcosolium, the Magi are either two or four to either side; whenever this symmetry is not needed, for instance in the sculptures, the Magi number always three. (See fig. 42 and 43).

The Good Shepherd. — The sweet figure of the Good Shepherd overshadows the whole Christian symbolysm. In the first century the scenes of Daniel and Moses appear but once, showing the help of God in the midst of the most terrible trials; but the picture of the Good Shepherd is found three times, as if to take possession of Christian art, and to furnish it with its first inspirations.

The Good Shepherd is found painted, sculpted, engraved in graffiti. This figure is multiplied in the III century, and in the IV its representations become innumerable.

It is easy to understand the reason of the fact. Prayer was the great inspirer of this figure, as it was of all the others. Christ was begged to treat the departed as the *Good Shepherd* would treat a lost sheep; He was asked to take this soul and to carry it to paradise. Greek liturgy, more expressive in this matter than

the Latin, puts this prayer upon the lips of the departed : « I am the lost sheep ; call me, O Lord, and save me! (1) ».

Prudentius, in describing the country where the Good Shepherd is carrying the sheep, makes use of the same terms as for paradise.

Fig. 44 — The soul and the Good Shepherd. (Cem. of S. Callistus).

But the Good Shepherd shows up also with the flock, and, as Mgr. Wilpert remarks, means something different in this case. The departed is then pointed out as belonging to the flock of Christ, or, as a member of the Church, and under the protection of Christ Who gave His life for His sheep, he need not fear. This idea refers more to the liviug than to the dead. At the beginning of the III century, in the vault of a chamber of the cemetery of St. Pretextatus, the Good Shepherd is represented with a stick, driving away from His sheep a hog and an ass, images of the infernal devil.

Here we are at the end of our rapid glance at Christian symbolism. Other elements will be explained in the course of our visit. Now let us take a look at the place where was established the cemetery which we are going to describe.

1) Ἁγιασματάριον τὸ μέγα, p. 196.

Chapter III.

The Cemetery of Saint Callistus

Article I.

Grounds in which the cemetery of Saint Callistus was dug.

The cemetery of Saint Callistus covers all that space of ground which begins at the small church « *Quo vadis* » (whither goest thou?) and extends to St. Sebastian's, limited by the Appian and the Ardeatine high-ways and the way of the Seven Churches; this last one leaves the Appian high-way near the basilica of St. Sebastian, crosses the Ardeatine and continues towards the Ostian basilica.

The first part, by an easy grade from the junction of the Appian and Ardeatine high-ways, measures about 450 feet, and is called Vigna Moroni, Moroni vineyard. The ruins of an edifice of three apsides are found there which seems to have been repaired several times. They are the remains of the basilica of Pope Mark, situated between the two above-named ways, according to the Acts of Nicholas I — on the Ardeatine, according to the Martyrology of Adon — now along the Appian and now along the Ardeatine, according to the Liber Pontificalis. This last document, says in the life of Pope Mark, that the pontiff obtained from Constantine Augustus a tract of land called « field of roses » with the surroundings, which he turned into

a cemetery (1). « Ex hujus suggestione obtulit Constantinus Augustus basilicae, quem cymiterium constituit

Fig. 45 — Chapel of St Sixtus with three apsides.

via Ardeatina, fundum Rosarium cum omnem agrum

(1) « Ex hujus suggestione obtulit Constantinus Augustus basilicae, quem, cymiterium constituit via Ardeatina, fundum Rosarium cum omnem agrum campestrorum, prest. sol. XL » (Mommsen, Acta Pont. Rom., p. 73).

campestrorum, prest. sol. XL « (Mommsen, Acta Pont. Rom., p. 73) ».

To understand the reason for this name « field of roses », we must remember that it was customary with the Romans, at certain times of the year, to offer sacrifices and libations to their dead; they used for this purpose a quantity of flowers preferably and according to the season, of roses and violets (1). The field in question was then cultivated to decorate the tombs; the object of this cultivation was a religious one; but either by the extinction of the family, or by donation, sale, or confiscation, it could become the property of the State, and thus the Emperor was in a position to dispose of it as he wished.

From the « Vigna Moroni » one passes on to another called « Vigna Cardelli », extending to the monastery of the Reformed Cistercian Fathers, (the Trappists). Nothing positive is known about this vineyard, except that it reaches to, or perhaps occupies, a part of the ground calledf ormerly « Campus Rediculi : field of the Returning God » — Festus Pompeius and other authors tell us that Hannibal, in consequence of frightful dreams, gave up the project of taking Rome by assault, and that he went to pillage the temple of the goddess Feronia at the foot of Mt Soractus; and then retired to Capua. Upon the occasion of his departure the Romans built on the hill occupied by the Cartheginian general a sanctuary to god Rediculi, and the field was called campus Rediculi. On this very spot on which we see the monastery of the Trappist Fathers, the site of that field must be recognized; at the time of Plinius,

(1) My Notiones archaeolog. christ., vol. I, pars I, pp. 325-328).

a strange but solemn procession formed to the right of the Appian high-way, at the second milestone, and in the field of the god Rediculi the dead body of a crow was burnt on a majestic pyre; this crow saluted every day the children of the imperial family and the Roman people. Now, this second mile-stone was exactly at this point of the Appian high-way, and the vineyard was called for some time the « vigna del miglio: the vineyard of the mile-stone ». The historian Ampère wishes to identify the god Rediculi with the Sabine god Tutanus (protector) of Pelasgic origin, brought to Etruria, passed on to the Sabines, then handed over to the Romans; as Tutanus is the same as Mutinus (both names being of Sabine origin), none other than a different name for Priape, Rediculus would be, taken all in all, but a surname for this obscene divinity after the retreat of Hannibal. To tell the truth, the learned historian did not prove that Rediculus was identically the same as Tutanus. Howsoever that may be, we are forced to recognize at this very place, at the second mile-stone, the field of Hannibal, and not, as certain people wish to point out today, in a position absolutely unfavorable for an army intending to besiege a city, and to the left of the Appian high-way.

Next to the « Vigna Cardelli » comes the « Vigna Amendola », which extends to St. Sebastian's. In this vineyard, at about 1500 feet from the Church *Quo vadis*, there used to be, towards the end of the second century, a villa with so many pools or piscinae, that it would readily be taken for an establishment of public baths. The calidarium, room where the water was heated, and many conduits to fill the pools, were discovered there.

Towards St. Sebastian's a road started, paved with

polygons of basaltic lava, partly visible as yet, and the tracing of which, owing to actual clever excavations, has been determined mathematically, at least for some distance. Besides there is nothing more evident, because

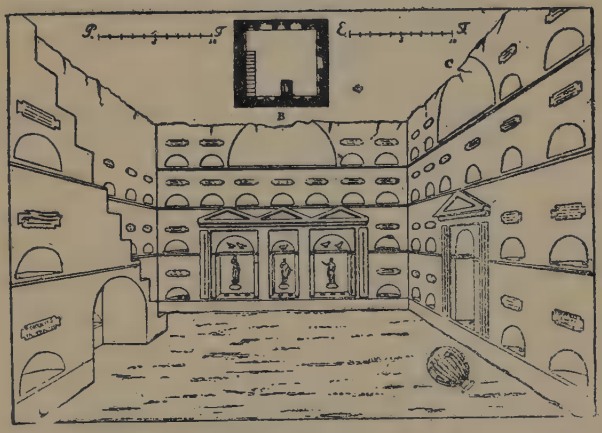

Fig. 46 — Columbarium of the Affranchised of the Gens Caecilia.

the ruins of several tombs have been found there along the way; this goes to prove also how frequented and important it was, although situated between two consular high-ways., the Ardeatine and the Appian.

That a true necropolis was in this place is proven by the fact that numerous ruins were found there, about a century ago, at the time of Fea. Besides more than two hundred tombs along the Appian high-way, a columbarium of the soldiers of Cape Misenum (militum Misenatum) was recognized in the interior of the field; still another, the owners of which called themselves « the adorers of god Sylvanus », an obscene divinity, to which the matrons could not offer sacrifice, because it was hostile to them, according to Juvenal (1) and

(1) Satyr IX.

St. Augustin (1), a third one founded by the chef cuisinier (chief cook) of the family of the *Augustus Antoninus*, the dedicatory inscription of which stated that, even though all the owners of the columbarium should die, this memory, memorial, monument, should become the property of the college of cooks established on the Palatine.

This road passed then in the midst of these collegiate tombs; but at a certain point, unless it slant to the left, must needs have passed between the hypogeum of the Caecilii and a small basilica with three apsides, built perhaps at the time of Pope St. Fabian (fig. 45).

De Rossi says that in this basilica were deposited and venerated in a single tomb the bodies of Pope Zepherinus and of St. Tarcisius. The basilica, rebuilt more than once, had become a shed for agricultural implements, and a modern stairway was found there, leading to the catacombs transformed into a cave. The pontifical Commission of Christian Archaeology and the Trappist Fathers have restored it to its present state.

It is hard to know whereto this road led, certain though it be that it met the Ardeatine Way again, and that it must have had various branches by which the pilgrims could go to the different sanctuaries. One of these branches was discovered in the beginning of 1909; it is in the direction of the tomb of St. Cornelius, and seems to pass very near the group of the popes. That is all that may be said at present.

At the edge of the Appian high-way, notice also the columbarium of the affranchised of the Caecilii, (fig. 46) a burial tomb seen very near the entrance to the property (fig. 48 d.), and a majestic mausoleum in

(1) De civit. Dei, lib. 6, cap. 9; lib. 15, cap. 22.

Fig. 47 — Ruins of the mausoleum of the Pomponii,
and stair-way leading to the tomb of pope Cornelius (as discovered by de Rossi).

the form of truncated pyramid, whose owners, perhaps members of the noble family of the Pomponii, who, after having become Christians, either gave the surrounding ground to the Church, or allowed the faithful to be buried there. Fig. 47 shows us the nucleus of this still existing monument and the place where they went down to the tomb of St. Cornelius, just as it was in the first stages of the excavations undertaken by De Rossi.

Further on, towards the basilica of St. Sebastian, must have been the tomb of the Dasumii; the testament of L. Dasumius Tuscus is very well known, which was found in this place in 1820 and 1830, engraved on a slab of marble broken into pieces and kept at present in the German Archaeological Institute. This family also counted many Christians amongst its members, and in a beautiful tomb of the region of the Caecilii was found interred a certain Dasumia Cyriaca, surnamed on account of her innocence « gall-less dove » « guile-less dove » i. e. « without bitternes ».

The road which now leads to the entrance to the catacombs is wholly modern; so also the beautiful alley or walk bordered and shaded by cypresses, called Via Pio Nono, Pius the Ninth's Walk. This name was given it, because the great Pope passed there repeatedly, leaning on the arm of De Rossi; it was then but a mere path: « Here said the Pope, there shall be one day the road of the popes, through the cemeteries of the popes. » The Trappist Fathers have realized this desire of Pius IX.

The alley is laid out in such a way, that at one extremity you may see rising between bushes the magnificent mausoleum of Caecilia Metella, and at the other, as inserted between two eucalyptus, the dome

of Michael-Angelo, seemingly reaching heaven with its proud summit. Pagan Rome seems to form a contrast with Christian Rome. When shall we have the happiness to see under the shade of the cypresses the sweet figure of Pope *Pius X?*

Article II.

Chronological order of the development of the cemetery of Saint Callistus.

It is within the hill just described that the papal cemetery was built. Towards the end of the I century, or at the beginning of the II, under a grand mausoleum a small system of cemetery galleries was dug, having several cubiculi within the limits of a funeral area: this area was bounded by the surrounding monuments, the Appian high-way and the galleries which then had been in existence. (See fig. 48, where this area is marked by a dotted line.

Under the first Antonines, a member of the Caecilii family, converted to Christianity, had a hypogeum (with an entrance by a stairway thereto), dug nearly at an equal distance between the Appian and the Ardeatine high-ways. The very monumental entrance of the stairway was decorated with pretty stucco. About the same time another parallel stairway was built; in order to lengthen these two stairways, large galleries were dug, put in connection later on, at their extremities, by a third gallery (fig. 49).

The transverse galleries uniting the parallel passages were dug somewhat later, as was also the region seen to the left and communicating with the arenarium X,

X^2, X^3, etc. To the right, in chamber A, a passage opens which De Rossi called the second area of the

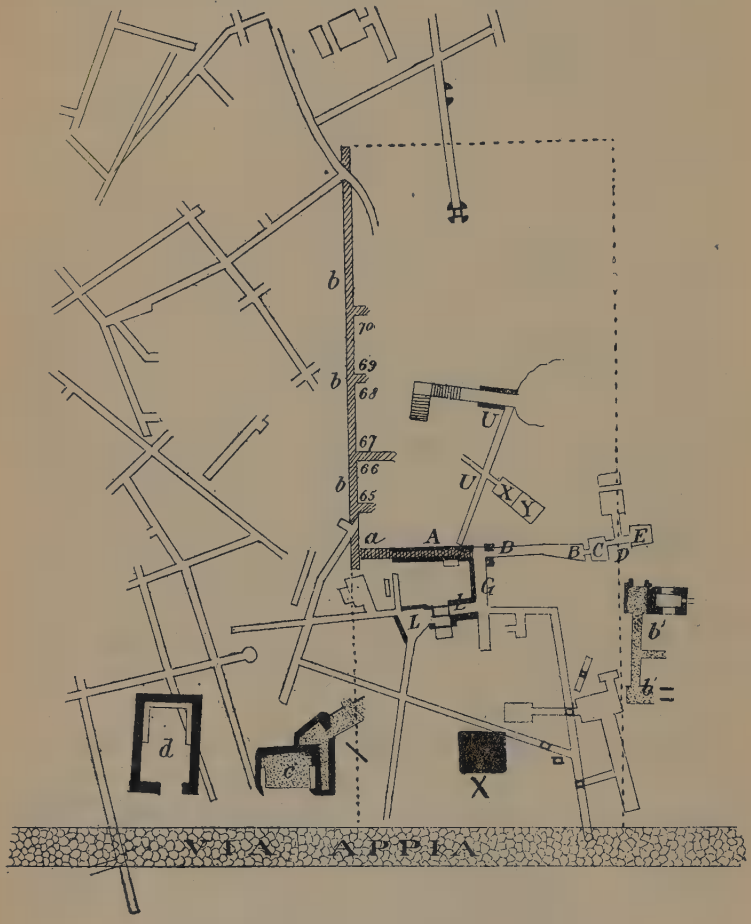

Fig. 48 — Plan of the crypts of S. Lucina.

cemetery, for he really believed it to be the second in chronological order (see fig. 50, passage a a a). In fact, it has all the characters of the end of the III century

and the beginning of the IV, as we shall explain in the visit; on the contrary, the second area, (leaving always aside the crypt of St. Lucina and the regions which range it with the Callistan group), seems to begin at the big stairway and the adjoining story m m m. The region which begins there has as principal artery o o, which meets passage a a a and finishes at chamber No. 1; on the other side, it continues with the walls, built perhaps at the time of St. Damasus. Its continuation may be seen in fig. 53 at the letters A, A, A, where the regions are again counted, beginning with I, and was called by De Rossi the region of St. Soteris; we shall call it at present, the « anonymous region ». It seems to originate entirely with the IV century.

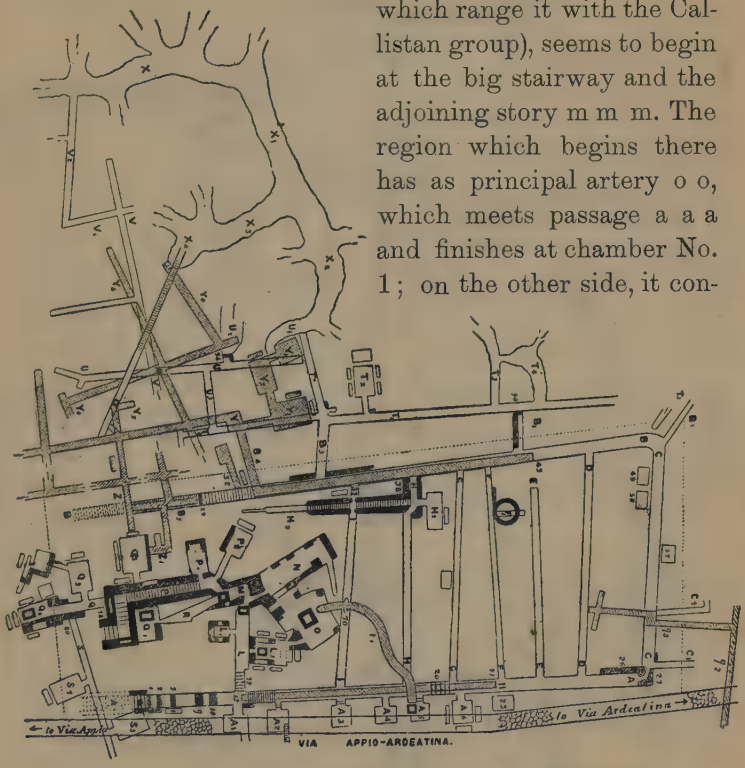

Fig. 49 — Region of the Caecilii, named region of the Popes.

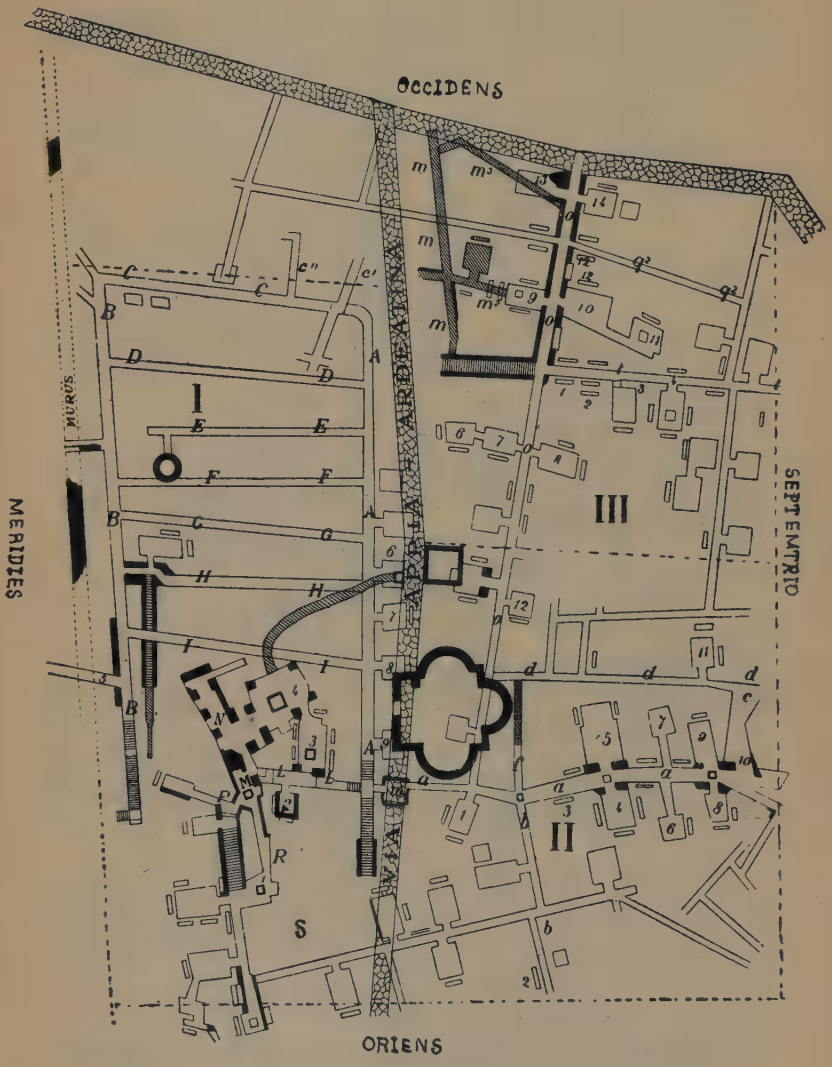

Fig. 50 — The successive areae of the Cemetery of St. Callistus.

Fig. 51. — Anonymous region (called by de Rossi, region of St. Soteris).

To the North of fig. 51, we find the region called Liberian because it was improved especially under the pontificate of Liberius I, (352-366). Connected with this region there is another, seemingly a continuation thereof, and most justly called « the region of Saints Mark, Marcellianus and Damasus »; it belongs entirely to the IV century, with annexes of the V. To the IV century belongs also the region extending from this point towards the *Quo Vadis* chapel, which must perhaps be divided into three parts:

a) to the right, the cemetery of St. Soteris, under the monastery of the Trappist Fathers;

b) to the left, the cemetery of Basileus, towards the Ardeatine high-way;

Fig. 52 — Labyrinth.

c) the cemetery of Ss. Mark and Balbina, towards the chapel of *Quo Vadis.*

In figure 54, the narrow and intricate galleries, not showing any chambers, run south-easterly and communicate with the St. Lucina crypt. This region, which De Rossi most properly calls the « labyrinth », belongs certainly to the IV century.

The Plan of the Cemetery, on sale at the convent of the Trappist Fathers, is the plan of De Rossi corrected and completed according to the last excavations; as it extends only to the monastery, it is but about half of the general plan. The missing part is not only very intricate but also very uncomfortable to go through, and at places even very dangerous. I have therefore renounced tracing this plan, just as Mr. Stephen De Rossi did.

Let us now study the cemetery.

Article III.

Visit of the Cemetery.

The ancient pilgrims of the VII and VIII centuries give us the different directions in visiting the cemetery of Callistus. There were various *Itineraries* which then took the place of our present Baedekers

Some, coming from the cemetery of St. Pratextatus, i. e. from the Appian high-way, in face of the house called torretta, the little tower, went to the tomb of St. Cecilia; thence to the tombs of the Popes; then they reascended to venerate the bodies of Pope Zephirinus and of St. Tarcisius in the same tomb, redescended to the tomb of Pope St. Eusebius and finally they went to St. Cornelius in the crypt of Lucina. We shall about follow this itinerary. The others came from the

INDEX (mutilated) of the cemeteries, from the Notitia Regionum Urbis Romae	INDEXES of the Oils, gathered by the Abbot John.	ITINERARY taken from the sole codex of Salzburg.
Cemeteryof of Praetextatus. St. Januarius, via Appia.	Linens of the vials Index of the Oils of St. Soteris, St. Sapientia, St. Spes, St. Fides, St. Charity, St. Caecilia, St. Tarsicius, St. Cornelius, and of many thousands of saints;	Thence you will come by the Appian hig way to St. Sebastian the martyr, whose bo rests in the lower part, and there are also t tombs of the Apostles Peter and Paul, in whi they remained forty years. And in the w stern section of the church, you descend steps to a place where reposes St. Cyrinus, po and martyr. By the same way, you go to t
Cemetery of the Catacombs of St. Sebastian, on the Appian high-way.		tombs of the holy martyrs Tiburtius and V lerian and Maximus. There you will enter a lar grotto and there (« here is a marginal note ») y will find St. Urban, bishop and confessor; a in another place, Felicissimus and Agapitu martyrs and deacons of Sixtus, and in the thi place Cyrinus martyr, and in the fourth pla Januarius martyr.
Cemetery of Calistus, St. Xystus, on the. Appian high-way.	St. Sebastian, St. Eutychius, St. Quirinus, St. Valerian, St. Tiburtius, St. Urbanus, St. Januarius.	In the third church on top, St. Synon m tyr rests. By the same way you go to St. C cilia's. where an innumerable multitude of m tyrs are... Sixtus the First, pope and mart Dionesius, p. and m. Julianus, p. and m., F vianus, m., St. Cecilia, virgin and m., eigh martyrs there rest below. Geferinus p. and co fessor rests on top. Eusebius p. and m. res way back in the cave. S. Cornelius p. and n rests far off in another cave. Then coming St. Soteris, virgin and m., by the same w you come to a small chapel where St. Xyst was beheaded with his deacons; his body li to the North.
Cemeteries of Domitilla, Nereius and Acilleus, of St. Petronilla, (Ardeatine high-way) Balbina, Mark, Marcellianus, (Ardeatine high-way).	St. Petronilla, daughter of St. Peter, St. Nereus, St. Damasus, St. Achilleus, St. Marcellianus.	You leave the Appian high-way and w come to St. Mark p. and m., then St. Damas p. and there in another chapel you will fi the two deacons and martyrs Mark and M cellianus, germain brothers whose body re ses on top under a large altar. Then you scend by steps to the martyrs Ss. Nereus a Achilleus.
Basileus, (Ardeatine high-way).		
Cemetery of Damasus.		

EPITOME
of the Book of the places
he Holy Martys and from the Codexes
Salzburg (genuine).
Wuezburg (genuine).
Salzburg (interpolated).

long the Appian highway, in the Eastern
f the city is the church of St. Soteris where
s with many martyrs, and along the same
way is the church of St. Sixtus, pope; he
here. There also reposes St. Caecilia, and
so St. Tarcisius and St. Geferinus lie in
rb and the also St. Eusebius and St. Calo-
and St. Partenius lie separately and (DCCC)
hundred martyrs in the same place rest. K.
r from there in the cemetery of Calistus,
li s aud Cyprianus rest in the church (And in
n grotto, St. Calocerus. (This was added by
r hand.))
Along the same high-way is also the church
arge number of martyrs, i. e., of Januarius,
dest of the seven sons of Felicitas, Urbanus,
tus, Felicissimus, Cyrinus, Zenon, the bro-
of Valentinus, Tiburtius, Valerianus, (and
aus: this was added by another hand), and
other martyrs repose there. K. And along
me high-way is the church of St. Sebastian
r, where he himself sleeps, where are the
of the Apostles in which they rested (XL)
years. There also Cyrinus martyr is buried.

Along the Ardeatine high-way is the church
Petronilla; there also are buried Ss. Achil-
nd Nereus and Petronilla herself. K. And
the same high-way Damasus and his sister
a are buried. And in another basilica not far
arcus and Marcellianus are honored and still
ther church another Marcus with Marcelli-
re held in honor.

Notice of the Gates,

Ways and Churches around Rome,

from William of Malmesbury.

The eleventh gate and way is called Appia. There rest Ss. Sebastian and Quirinus and formerly the bodies of the Apostles lay there. And a little nearer Rome are the martyrs Januarius Urbanus, Xenon, Quirinus, Agapitus, Felicissimus. And in another church Tiburtius, Valerianus, Maximus; not far is the church of St. Cecilia martyr Ihere too are buried Stephanus, Sixtus, Zefferinus, Eusebius, Melchiades, Marcellus, Eutichianus, Dionysius, Antheaos, Pontianus, Lucius, pope, Optatus, Julianus, Calocerus, Parthenius, Tbarsitius, Policamus (al) Politanus). In the same place are the chapel and the body of St. Cornelius. And in another chapel St. Soteris, and not far repose the martyrs Hippolytus, Adrianus, Eusebius, Maria, Martha, Paulina, Valeria, Marcellus; and nearby in his own chapel pope Marcus.

Between the Appian and the Ostian high-ways is the Ardeatine high way where are Marcus and Marcellianus, and in his own chapel lies Damasus. And not far of are Ss. Petronilla, Nereus and Achilleus and many others.

gate of St. Sebastian called also the Appian gate, porta Appia, and first visited St. Soteris, then the group of the Popes etc. Then they went towards the Appian high-way and reached the Ostian high-way. Others again by turning in a contrary sense, came from the Ostian high-way to the Ardeatine and thence to the Appian. (See at the end of the article a table of Itineraries).

The steps by which they descended is the same as nowadays; this gallery, says De Rossi, was changed into an entrance by Pope St. Damasus for the pilgrims of his time. It was restored at the time of Pope Pius IX. On the wall to the left we read the beautiful inscription of a certain Claudia whose « birth-day rose... ect. » i. e. the day of her death which was her birth to true life, and was called dies natalis, birth-day, as we read in the Martyrology for the saints.

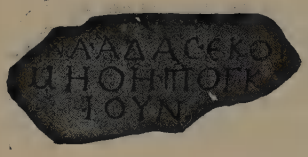

Fig. 53.

To the right an inscription is characterized by the verb κοιμάω « to sleep » : the departed fell asleep in the Lord the 30th of May (fig. 53). Another inscription to the right gives the 4th consulate of Diocletian and, what must be, the 3rd of Maximian:

VIBIU FIMUS R. VII KA SEP
DIC. IV. ET. MAX. COS

Vibius Fimus recessit or *reddidit* or *requiescit* or *requievit*. Vibius retired, or fell asleep. Or, he rendered (his soul). Or he rests, or rested. Then, the name Fimus, (the least) as De Rossi remarks, is not a Roman name, but one taken by humility. Thus other Christians, and sometimes the more noble, took names

chosen from vile things, for example Stercorius, (Off-all), Projectus, (Cast-a-way) Projecticius (Good-for-nothing), or dishonorable names, as Dyscolus, (Distembered).

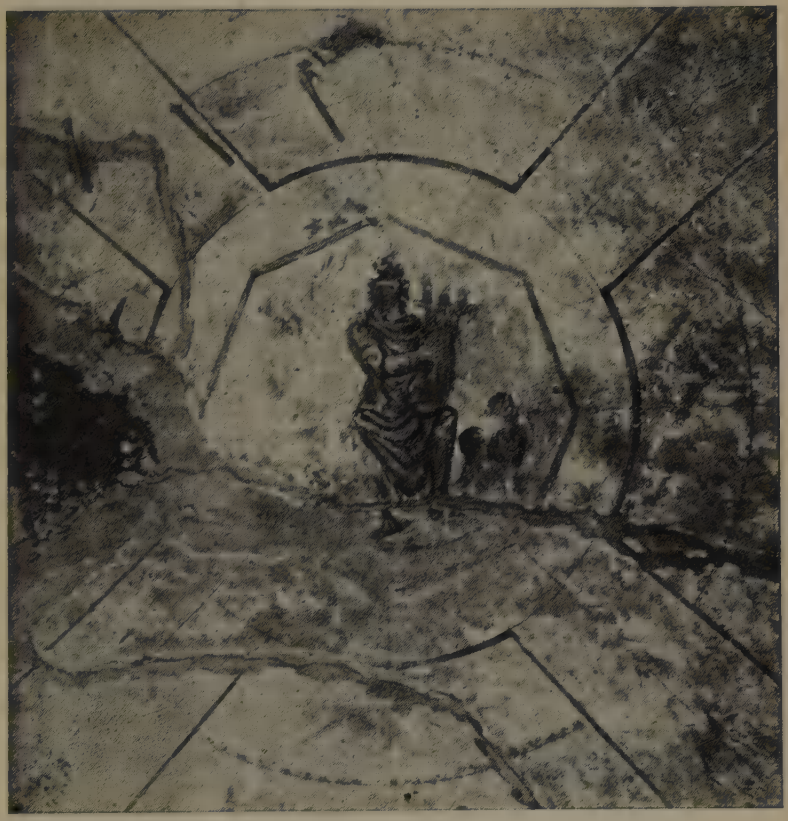

Fig. 54 — Orpheus in the midst of sheep.

The stairway obstructs the entrance to a remarkable crypt where is the inscription: « Dasumia Cyriaca, dove without guile, bitternes, gall ». At the foot of

the stairway graffiti are immediately seen: they are inscriptions traced by pilgrims who came to venerate this sanctuary. The way then leads to the right under a lucernarium and to a very high gallery which is said to be the vestibule of the Popes Chapel. Close to the entrance is a family tomb, called the chamber of Orpheus, restored in the IV century, the ceiling being finely painted in narrow geometrical lines.

In the middle, we see the figure of Orpheus seated and playing a lyre, and at his side are two lambs, representing doubtlesly animals attracted by his sweet music. It is Christ attracting man by the sweetness of His teachings. (Fig. 54).

This is the most ancient represention of Orpheus in Christian art, and goes back to the beginning of the cemetery. There are two other representations of Orpheus in the cemetery of Domitilla: they belomg to a later epoch, and give the historical type of the subject; here on the contrary, the Thracian poet is not surrounded by animals which he is taming at the sound of his lyre, but he holds the place which becomes the Good Shepherd i. e. he has two lambs at his side, which fact makes the allusion the more evident.

On the left wall, before arriving at the door of the crypt of the Popes, there is a group of graffiti so confused, that it required 15 years or more of De Rossi to spell them out. Take note of the one made upon the layer still fresh and which is probably contemporaneous with the burial of Pope St. Pontianus, towards the middle of the III century. It says: « O Pontianus, live in God with all the pontiffs! » Other graffiti invoke repeatedly the pontiff Sixtus II: others beseech the martyrs to give them a happy voyage, just as those Christian merchants on the rock of a small island in

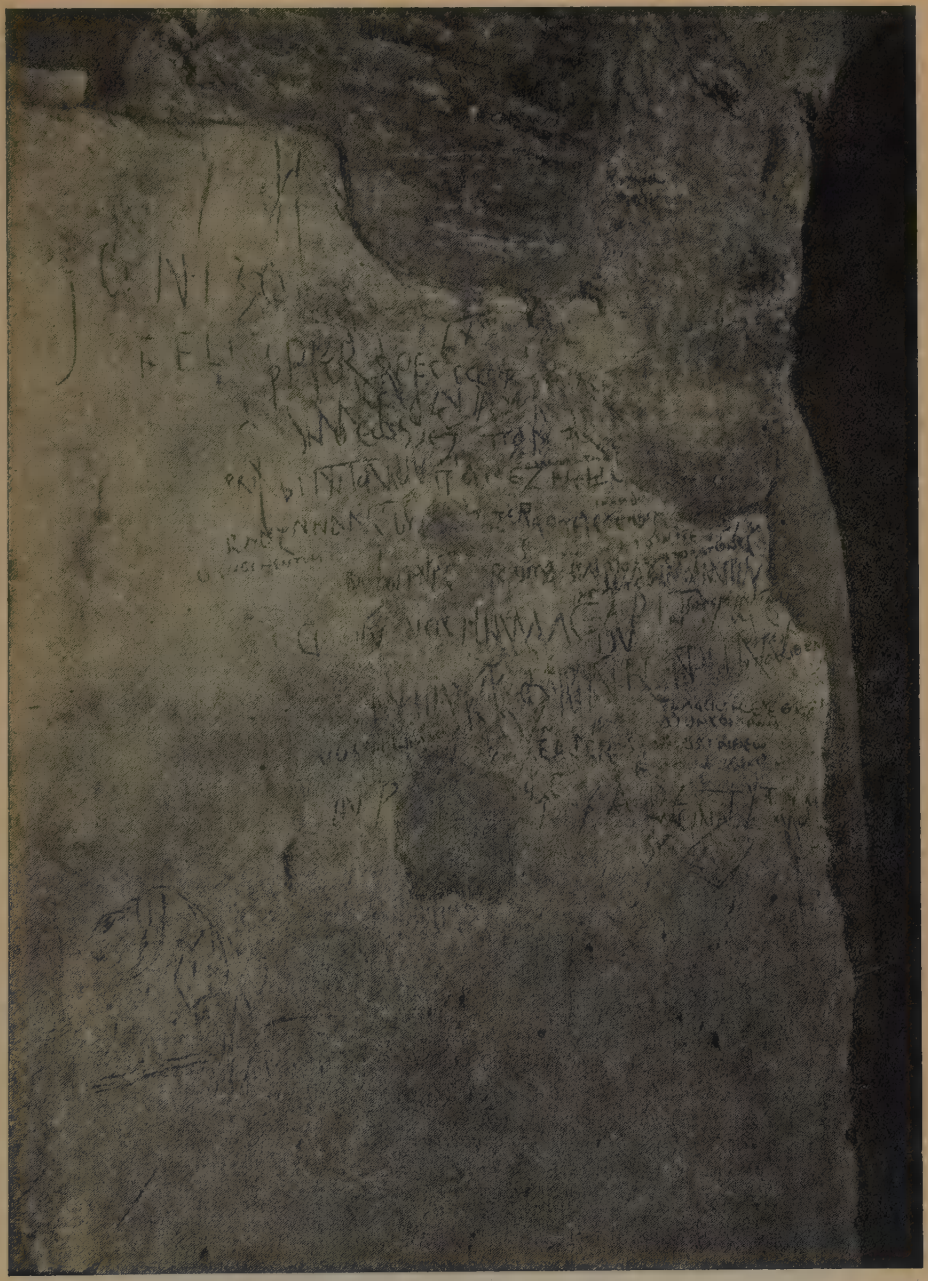

Fig. 55 — A group of graffiti near the entrance of the Crypt of the Popes.

*Adria*NVS BONIZO

...I VIV*as*

FEL*i*CI PBR PECCATOR

POrΦINA

SANTE XVC*te*

*M*AXIMI EF Θεω METαΠANTων επισκοπων

A
*Pri*MITI
PRO ΠONTIANE ZHCHC SANC*te* *Suste in men*
THE ABEAS IN ORATIONE
ЬINIANI ΓΣ ΣIC MIAN

*pe*TE*p*RÒME EVSTA*chi*VM

PRIMITI NOMNANBC SANTE SVSTE IN MENTE
AMANTI HABEAS IN HORATIONES
NA NA AVRELIV REPENTINV

IERUSALE CIVITAS ET
ANASTATXA A PETE PRO MARCIANVM ALVMNV ΠM
ORNAMENTVM
CARA MATER
MARTYRV D NABALTARIA
CVIVS... BER TALLA
SANCTE SVSTE...
...REPENTI*num*

SVCCESSVM RVFINUM AGAPITVM E
SANCTE XYSTE
*in me*NTE HABEAS IN HO*rationes* SUSTE SAN*cte*
VT AELIBERA

SVCC... SVM RUFINUM AGAPITUM SA
CROCEO
RV FINVM ΓεΛΑCI ZH CεNε θεω
RV
BrΔ... CONTRI ΔIONVCI ZHCεC
VT QVOD ITERAVI*mus* FACER BIBAC *in* θεω CIA
IN P*ace* ASTRA PETE TVXIC
ELIA
NTE BIBAC
E SATVR IN ΔEO MARCIANVM
ARÀNTIAM AQ
ORTA MAX SVCCESSVM
TVA PETITE SPIRITA ANCTA
VT VERECVNDVS CVM SVIS SEVERUM SPIRITA
ARMEN BENE NAVIGΘT

(Figure graffite) SEBATIA PATωNI XIC AICXIONAC SANCTA IN MENTE HAVETE ET OM NES FRATRES NOS
ΔΔPIANOC TROS LEONTIVIB*as*
ΔEO AVIVS IN VITA

Graffiti of the Crypt of the Popes.

the Aegean sea, engraved pious invocations to St. Phocas, to protect them during their voyage. One of those pilgrims touched at the sight of these famous tombs, wrote: « O Jerusalem, city and ornament of the martyrs of the Lord Whose... ». He may not have been able to finish the sentence, probably being pushed forward by the crowd of pilgrims.

In reference to this group of graffiti and of others near-by, De Rossi remarks that they are not a cold and sterile formula of a souvenir, but an affectionate prayer: « Methinks that the graffiti of which we speak ought to be divided into three classes: the simple names or the names qualifying the person; the acclamations of the same kind which we read on the epitaphs of the tombs and on the small titles of domestic utensils; the invocations addressed directly to the martyrs. In regard to the names which are placed, all of them, at the ordinary height and on the layers of the III and IV centuries, have a Roman character and etymology; they are not followed by any indication of the quality of the person; then the names which are engraved on the layers covered with paintings of the Byzantine style, or a few, pretty rare, written on top, above the ordinary height, when the walls were filled with the graffiti, show us names of Barbarian origin or of Christian custom, preceded often with a cross, nearly always followed by the *sigla*, meaning presbyter (priest) and sometimes the forms, peccator, (sinner) or indignus peccator, (unworthy sinner).

« The greetings in imitation of the formulae used on the ancient epitaphs or on household utensils are: VIVAS IN DEO *in pace*, and the like. Thus we read ICONI BIBAS; DONATE VIVAS,...; VICTORINE BIVAS...; PONTI VIVAS IN DEO CRISTO; ΕΛΙΑ ΒΙΒΑC ΙΝ ΔΕΟ; ΓΕΛΑΣ ΖΗC ΕΝ ΘΕω; ΔΙΟΝΥCΙ ΒΙΒΑC ΙΝ ΘΕω; ELIANE VIVAS IN ETERNO; LEONTI VIB*as* IN VITA *aeterna;* AMATE IN PACE, FOR-

TUNI TE IN PACE (deux fois);... IN P*ace* ASTRA PETE ».

Ih ese greetings are really of the same character as the epitaphs, but, the last excepted, seem to be addressed to the living. Let us listen to De Rossi. « The brevity and elegance of these formulae are peculiar to the epigraphic style of the first centuries. Of *vivas, vivas in Deo*, J have found at Rome no instance containing a certarin date in the epitaphs of the time of peace; in household utensils the use of *vivas, vivatis in Deo,* lasted tell the end of the fourth and was gradually abandoned in the fifth century. In point of fact the greetings in the catacombs are without any exception confined to the third and fourth centuries; not even a trace of the like is found in the *graffiti* made at later date on Byzantine paintings ».

What an exquisitely delicate thought was not that of the pilgrims, to remember at tombs of the martyrs those near and dear to them, still in the flesh, as if to make them participate, far away though they were, in the graces that were to be obtained by the intercession of those whose tombs they were venerating! It was thus thet a pilgrim of Piacenza wrote on the walls of the shrines ot Cana in Galilee the names of his parents:

Parentum suorum nomina scripsit.

Now here is the other kind of graffiti, which. as the epitaphs, are connected with liturgical prayers and inspired by them: «Sante Syste in mente habeas in horationes Aureliu repentinv ; » this form, says De Rossi, helps us complete the following: Sante Syste in mente habeas... Repentinum, and also the others of the same kind. Ihese prayers repeated to the martyrs of the places are a precious indication in the search for tombs, and never De Rossi was more certain of being near the chapel of the Popes (before entering therein), than after reading these repeated prayers full of emotion,

unfortuuately destroyed and mostly covered by the coating put on at the time of St. Damasus. « Here, says the illustrious archaeologist, where with such great fervor St. Sixtus had been invoked by those who had yet seen intact the loculi, the sarcophagi, the monuments, and read the original epitaphs and the praises of Damasus, here the great martyr with certainty must needs have his tomb ». The monument of Sixtus, we know, was with these of many of his predecessors; amongst and near them, inter episcopos, amongst the bishops, Urban placed the celebrated martyr Cecilia, who, indeed, gave with St. Sixtus its name to the group of monuments which we are exploring (1).

Let us remark especially the form: « Marcianum Successum Severum Spirita Sancta in mente havete et omnes fratres nostros. O holy souls, remember Marcian, Successus, Severus and all our brothers! « It has its counterpart in an epitaph of Rome and in one of Aquilea, the latter ending thus: Martyres sancti in mente havite Maria. It seems inspired by the words of St. Cyprian: Fratres et sorores... in mente habeatis in orationibus vestris » (2). Have our brothers and sisters in your mind in your prayers.

The Chapel of the POPES.

Entrance to the Chapel of the Popes is through a door which was, in the beginning, very narrow, but later on enlarged by Pope Damasus, who placed a decorated arch over it. The arch and the posts are covered with a stucco peculiar to the Damasan epoch; in the middle of the arch is a monogram of Christ, also painted· At the entrance-wall, to the sides of the door, there were two columns, the mark of the left one being still recognizable; the lining of the construction which

(1) Loco cit.
(2) Ep. LX.

Fig. 36 — The crypt of the Popes, as restored by Michael Stephen de Rossi.

covers it, hides the ancient stucco the evident traces of which are to be seen at the left corner. The lateral walls are lined with a double tier of tombs, in the midst of

which there are two marble torso columns, set off with Corinthian capitals; on these columns there must have been architraves from which lamps hung; during the service (liturgy), the curtain (velarium) was also hung, according to the ancient custom of isolating even physically the celebrant. A marble landing still shows the

Fig. 57 — The crypt of the Popes; actual state.

traces of the ancient altar, behind which, leaning against the back-tomb, was the pontifical chair, (the cathedra). The altar and the chair were surrounded by a balustrade, also of marble, with caisson and lattice or reticulated wire-work. (See the reconstruction, fig. 58).

In the beginning, though, the chapel was decorated only with white stucco and red lines; there may

have been there symbolical and decorative subjects, of which no trace remains; the marble decoration belongs to the epoch of St. Damasus (366-384), or of Sixtus III (432-440). Same remark may be made about the lucernarium.

Not only the architectural elegant forms, but also the ancient badigeons, point to the antiquity of this crypt or chapel: they are the same as decorate the primitive entrances and room A. The marble used here, the slabs and columns, etc., seem to have been placed already elsewhere, which would indicate the epoch of decoration, rather as the V than the IV century.

De Rossi counted eleven popes buried here : Zephirinus (199-217), Urban I, (222-230), Pontian (230-235), Anterus (235-236), Fabian (236-250), Lucius (253-254), Stephen (254-257), Sixtus II (257-258), Dionysius (259-268), Felix I (269-274), and Eutychian (275-283).

Fig. 58 — Inscription of pope (?) Urban.

Of their epitaphs only *five certain,* and *one uncertain,* have been found: those of Anterus, Pontian, Fabian, Lucius and Eutychian. Those of Pontian and Fabian show also the *sigla* of the martyrs, the entanglement of the consonants *MTR* of the word *Martyr*,

The lid of a marble casket shows the engraven name of OYPBANOC... « Urbanus » ; De Rossi thought that it was followed by the beginning of the letter *E* (fig. 58), in which case it would be necessary to complete the inscription with the word Ἐπίσκοπος = bishop.

A valuable inscription, composed by St. Damasus,

is at the bottom of the most honored tomb there, the tomb of St. Sixtus II (fig. 59). Here it is with translation:

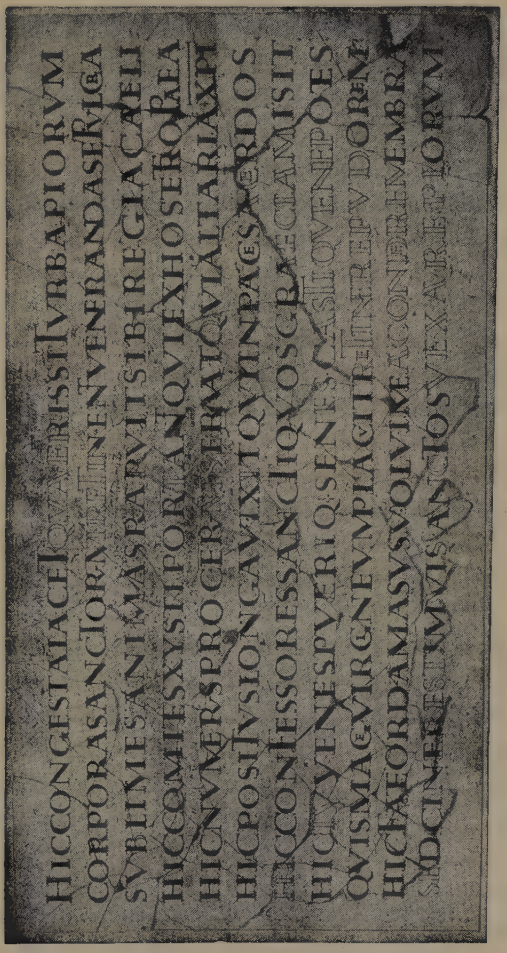

Fig. 59.

Hic congesta jacet quaeris si turba piorum
If you enquire, here lies the crowd of faithful;
Corpora sanctorum retinent veneranda sepulcra
these venerable sepulchres contain the bodies of the saints,
Sublimes anima rapuit sibi regia coeli
the celestial court has taken to itself these sublimes souls;
Hic comites Xysti portant qui ex hoste trophaea,
Here the companions of Xystus who carry of the trophies from the enemy;
Hic numerus procerum servat qui altaria XPI,
Here, the number of noble servants of the altars of Christ;
Hic positus longa vixit qui in pace sacerdos,
Here lies the priest who lived in long peace;
Hic confessores sancti quos Graecia misit,
Here the saintly Confessors sent by Greece;
Hic jvvenes puerique senes castique nepotes
Here the young people, the children, the old people and their chaste descendants;
Quis mage virgineum placuit retinere pudorem;
(here) she who preferred to guard her purity of virgin;
Hic fateor Damasus solvi mea condere membra
Sed cineres timvi santos vexare piorum.
Here I Damasus declare to have thought of laying my bones; but I feared to trouble the holy ashes of the saints.

Here we find given the companions of St. Sixtus II, who were killed with him — the number of noble princes, i. e. of the popes — a Pontiff who lived in peace a long time and who, according to De Rossi, Armellini, Marucchi, would be St. Miltiades, interred in this cemetery, as the Popes Cornelius, Caius and Eusebius, though in a different region. The great poet-pope recalls a number of persons of all ages and sexes, buried there, those who were jealous to keep their virginal chastity as a treas-

ure; then he declares that he also desired to have a tomb in this place, but that he feared, by his presence, to trouble the ashes of the saints. This slab of marble, when found, was in 125 pieces; the missing parts were replaced with sand-stone.

Another damasan inscription was put near the tomb of Sixtus II; the « *Sylloge palatina*, the Palatine Collection » gives us the text, and in the ruins of this chapel two fragments of original stone were found, on which it was engraved. The poetry is as follows, (with translation):

Tempore quo gladius secuit pia viscera matris
At the time when the sword pierced the pious heart of our mother
Hic positus Rector coelestia jussa docebam
Reposing here, I the Rector, taught the celestial laws.
Adveniunt subito rapiunt qui forte sedentem
They suddenly break in and seize, by chance, him seated;
Militibus missis populi tunc colla dedere
To the soldiers who had been sent, the people presented their necks
Mox ubi cognovit senior quis tollere vellet
Palmas se suumque caput prior obtulit ipse.
As soon as the older one saw who wished to gain the palm, he himself the first offered himself and his head,
Impatient feritas posset ne leadere quemquam
That the impatient wildness could not hurt any one
Ostendis Christus reddit qui praemia vitae
Christ showed it, who renders the rewards of life
Pastoris meritum numerum gregis Ipse tuetur
He Himself the reward of the shepherd protects the number of the fold

During a long time, these verses were attributed to Stephen I; but it has for the future been proven,

that Pope Stephen had only been buried in this crypt, whilst he was martyred on the Latin high-way together with several members of his clergy. The only pope who was beheaded in the cemetery was Sixtus II, and to him do these verses refer. In this very place, affixed to his tomb, some of his flesh, tainted with blood, was kept for a length of time.

On the opposite wall, at the entrance-door, there was a slab bearing the names of the popes buried there: Pope Sixtus III had it put there: according to the conjectures of De Rossi, here is its tenor:

Names of the Bishops Martyrs and Confessors who are buried in the Cemetery of Callistus:

Xystus	Dionesius	Stephen	Urban
Cornelius	Felix	Lucius	Manno
Pontian	Eutychian	Anterus	Numidian
Fabian	Gaius	Laudiceus	Julian
Eusebius	Miltiades	Polycarp	Optatus.

Of these the first is Saint Xystus, having suffered (martyrdom) with Agapitus, Felicissimus, and others to the nymber of eleven (XI).

This inscription, as also the verses *hic congesta* took in not only the crypt of the Popes and the adjacent crypts, but also the whole Callistan necropolis.

Observations concerning the tombs of the popes.

Whereas this book is destined to help all those, savants or amateurs, who are studying Christian Archaeology, I think that I am doing well by adding to the cursory description of the pontifical hypogeum some remarks about the burial of the Popes; I shall, at the same time, expose several controverted and less clear points.

In various manuscripts of the Liber Pontificalis, (theBook of the pontiffs), we read that Popes Anicetus and others were buried in the cemetery of St. Callistus. Nevertheless these manuscripts date back only to the IX century, whereas the older *recensions* (v. g. that of 530 published by Schelstrate, and that of 687 published by Bianchini), place the burial of these two pontiffs in the Itineraries and the Martyrology of Jerome, do not speak of this fact.

ST. ZEPHERINUS, (199-217). — The pilgrims of the VIII century and the Liber Pontificalis affirm, that the body of St. Zepherinus was deposited, not in the cemetery of St. Callistus, but above in his own cemetery and next to the cemetery of Callistus: sursum in coemeterio suo juxta coemeterium Callisti: Other pilgrims say that he was honored with St. Tarcisius in the same tomb: in eodem tumulo. De Rossi did not believe in the existence of a cemetery of St. Zepherinus, as distinct from that of St. Callistus, but supposed that St. Zepherinus had at first been deposited in the chapel of the Popes, and then, later on, taken from it, in order to be jointly, with the body of the martyr of the Blessed Eucharist, deposited in a basilica above ground, about the V century. Now, on account of the tombs in or about it, a basilica could be called a cemetery, and therefore, they called this sanctuary or tomb of the pontiff and of the acolyte martyr, « the cemetery of St. Zepherinus. »

This very plausible explanation at the time of De Rossi is at present the subject of a heated debate between Mgr Wilpert and Professor Marucchi. Without wishing to solve this difficult problem, I shall expose, in time and place, the status of the question. The fact beyond any doubt remains, that Zepherinus, shortly after his

elevation to the sovereign pontificate (199) called St. Callistus to Rome. St. Callistus had been living at Anzio on an ecclesiastical pension, paid him as a confessor of the faith; he was then placed at the head of the administration of the cemetery and of the government of the clergy, with the title of *first deacon*. It is equally certain that the decorations and certain remains of masonry in the Papal Crypt or Chapel, belong to the epoch of Marcus Aurelius.

St. Callistus (217-222). — Of Pope Callistus we have nothing to remind us of his burial-place in the cemetery of which he was the administrator; on the contrary, the history of his martyrdom says that he was buried at the third milestone on the Aurelian way, in the « coemeterio Calepodii », in the cemetery of Calopodius: « For such a curious fact, a reason must be saught, it seems to be, in the confused indications which remain on the subject of the martyrdom and sepulture of this pontiff. In the Acts wich give us an account (1) the critics find very admissible the species of death of Callistus (2). According to the Acts, Callistus was killed by being thrown out of a window into a Cistern of the Transtevere region, « beyond the Tiber », which would rather belong to a popular tumult than to a formal sentence of a magistrate, or of the Emperor. The body crushed under a pile of stones was taken from the well secretly and conveyed to the cemetery of Calepodius, on the Aurelian way, not far from the place were he had been killed in such a strange and illegal way » (3).

To say the truth, it seemps impossible that Emperor

(1) Acta SS., t. VI, oct.? p. 439.
(2) Cf. Tillemont, Hist. eccl., t. III.
(3) De Rossi, Roma sott., t. II, p. 51.

Alexander Severus ordered the torment of the Christian pontiff, because we read: « Christianos esse passus est: He suffered the Christians to be », and that he gave back to the Christians the possession of a church in the « Trastevere. » This preference of the Emperor may have excited the anger of thousands against the chief of the Christians; Callistus was beside, from what we know from the book of the Pilosophoumena, detested by the Jews; they had him banished to the mines of Sardinia even before his promotion to the sacred orders. Then again, the Jews considered Alexander Severus as an adept, and had been overwhelmed with privileges by him, so says Lamprid, and they thus expected impunity from him. These circumstances, though they do not decide exactly the question as to who the murderers of Callistus were, render probable the narrative of his death in a tumult, and every contrary conjecture would rather be fantastical.

SAINT URBAN (222-230). — St. Urban succeded Callistus, and was certainly buried on the Appian Way. The most ancient martyrologies indicate on this way the sepulture of a bishop Urban, but in the cemetery of Praetextatus on the other side of the Way and facing the cemetery of Callistus. Thus we read in the Martyrology of Jerome, under date of May 25th; « (Natalis) Urbani episcopi in coemeterio Praetextati, the birth-day of Urban bishop, in the cemetery of Praetextatus »; and in the little Roman Martyrology: Urbani episcopi et martyris, Urban, bishop and martyr. »

The most ancient edition of the Liber Pontificalis shows us for the first time the name of Urban: « Qui et sepultus est cimiterio Praetextati (Epitome Feliciana) Urban who was also buried in the cemetery of Praetextatus. » The Abbot John enumerates the name of

Urban with the group of the cemetery of Praetextatus; although no topographical document gives this name in the cemetery of Callistus, the manuscript of Malmesbury names Urban between St. Januarius and St. Zenon; the « Epitome de locis sanctorum martyrum » (the succinct list of the places of the martyrs), names him with the group of Praetextatus; so also the manuscript of Salzburg, which calls him besides: « episcopum et confessorem, bishop and confessor. »

Everything points to a cult of an Urban in the cemetery of Praetextatus; alone the Bern manuscript of the Martyrology of Jerome, according to the correction of De Rossi, mentions the name of Urban in the cemetery of Callistus.

But an iscription of an Urban was discovered near the papal crypt, where it communicates with the chapel of St. Cecilia; it is written in Greek, and following the name there is a curved line, perhaps the beginning of the letter E, standing perhaps for Episcopus, bishop. There is a great resemblance between this fragment and the papal epitaphs, without the possibility of comparing the paleography with the epitaph of St. Anterus, which is posterior. This may not be a serious difficulty. What is more difficult, is to complete the true word following. De Rossi read: Ἐπίσκοπος a bishop; others read: Ἐν εἰρήνη in peace. Mgr Wilpert thought the curve to be of a, the top of which would go up too far; for De Rossi, it was owing to a stroke of the pick.

De Rossi supposes the existence of two Urbans, one, a pope, buried in the cemetery of St. Callistus, and the other a bishop buried in the cemetery of St. Praetextatus, both mixed by the author of the Liber Pontificalis. This is no place for the discussion of such an intricate question; suffice it, to have indicated the dif-

ficulty. The inscription is placed to the left, facing the altar, on the edge of the tomb next to the ground.

SAINT PONTIAN (230-235). — Pontian succeeded Urban, and the Martyrologies assert that he was buried in the cemetery of Callistus. The same information may be read in the Liber Pontificalis, which tells us besides, that under the consulate of Severus and Quintian (235) the pope was banished to Sardinia with the priest Hippolytus. The Liberian Catalogue adds to this information that the pope renounced the pontifical charge that same year, September 28th, and that the following November 21st, Anterus was elected in his stead. The Liber Pon-

Fig. 60 — Inscription of pope Pontianus.

tificalis also states that he was flogged and killed November 30th, probably the following year, (236); he was then still alive when Fabian was elected. He, in virtue of the law by which the bodies of the criminally executed could be reclaimed, and profiting of the kind dispositions of Emperor Philip the Arabian, went to Sardinia, in order to transfer with honor the body of the glorious martyr and to bury it in the cemetery of Callistus. Here are the texts relative to this pope:

Liber Pontificalis: « Eodem tempore Pontianus episcopus et Ypolitus presbiter exilio sunt deportati ab Alexandro in Sardinia insula (nociva) bucina, Severo Quintiano cons. In eadem insula afflictus, maceratus fustibus, defunctus est III kal. novemb. et in eius loco ordinatus est Antheros XI kal. decemb. . . . . Quem beatus Fabianus adduxit navigio (cum clero per navem) et sepelivit in cymeterio Calysti via Appia » (1).

« Fuit « (Pontianus) temporibus Alexandri et cons. Pompeiani et Geliniani. Eo tempore Pontianus episcopus et Ypolitus presbiter exoles sunt deportati in Sardinia, in insula vocina (nociva) Severo at Quintiano consulibus: in eadem insula discinctus est kal. III octobr., et loco ejus ordinatus est Antheros IX kal. dec. cons. SS. (suprascriptis) » (2).

The inscription of Pontian was re-discovered a month ago, in the excavations that Dom Dominic Sheercousse,

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(1) Mommsen, Libri pont. pars I. p. 24. Translation: At the same time, Pontian, b shop, and Hippolytus, priest, were banished by Alexander, to the dangerous island of Sardinia, (perhaps, sonorous Sardinia) Severus and Quintianus being consuls. Pontian became afflicted in this same island, was tormented by being beaten with sticks; died the third of the Calends of November, and in his place, Anteros was ordained the eleventh of the Calends of December . . . Whom the blessed Fabian transferred by boat, and buried in the cemetery of Callistus, on the Appian Way ».

(2) Liberiam Catalog. at the name: Pontian was living at the time of Alexander, and the consuls Pompeianus and Gelinianus. At that time, Pontianus, bishop, and Hippolytus, priest, were sent as exiles to the dangerous island of Sardinia, Severus and Quintianus being consuls. Pointian died on this same island the third of the Calends of October, and in his place Anteros was ordained, the ninth of the Calends of December, under the consulate of the above mentioned.

Reformed Cistercian, Abbot of Our Lady of the Catacombs, had the happy idea to undertake in the very crypt of St. Cecilia. Here it is: ΠΟΝΤΙΑΝΟC ΕΠΙCΚ ΜΡΤ, « Pontian, bishop, martyr » (Fig. 60). I have as yet not obtained permission to reproduce the precious inscription, which I hope to add at the end of the volume. I shall soon speak of it. Besides among the graffiti of the vestibule of the crypt one may read: ΕΝ ΘΕω ΜΕΤΑ ΠΑΝΤων ἐπισκόπων ΠΟΝΤΙΑΝΕ ΖΗΖΗC, « In God with all the bishops, O Pontian, live thou! » This graffito, traced on plaster yet fresh, may go as far back as the III century and be contemporaneous with the burial of the pope, as De Rossi thinks.

SAINT ANTHERUS (235-236). — There is no trace of thè burial of St. Antherus, the successor to Pontian, in the cemetery of St. Callistus; but is related in the

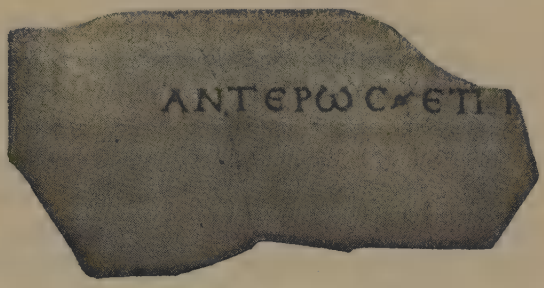

Fig. 61 — Inscription of Pope Anterus.

most ancient edition of the Liber Pontificalis, and repeated in all the others; besides it is indicated as ad S. Xystum, of St. Xistus; ad S. Ceciliam, of St. Cecilia, by the topographical documents. (Manuscripts of Malmesbury and Einsiedeln).

(Fig. 61). Anterus was pope for a little over 40

days, from Nov. 21, 235, to Jan. 3, 236; he died during the short but furious persecution of Maximin and was succeeded by Fabian. According to De Rossi and other eminent critics, these two pontiffs were elected, Pontian being yet alive; for, the last named perished as a result of the bastinado, (fustigatio), not in December 235, but a year later. The pontificate of twelve years assigned to Anterus by the more recent Martyrologies is an error of the Liber Pontificalis,

(114) The most evident document concerning the burial of this pope is his epitaph above that of Urban. The paleographic form and the distinctness of the characters (letters) of his name rather fit the first half of the III century; it is therefore the most ancient known papal epitaph. Let us note also the true form of this name ANTEPωC ('Αντέρως) and not Ἄντερος which would correspond to the Latin Anterus, erroneous form found only in the later documents.

It is impossible to know whether after the siglum EIII (επίσκοπος), bishop, the indication of « martyrdom » was given. The title of « bishop » was the only one which, in those times, was proper to the Roman Pontiff, and the remark of those who conclude from this indication that the bishop of Rome exercised, and had, *no* authority during those centuries over the other dioceses, is really ridiculous. De Rossi remarks that then the title of *Pape, Pope*, was a title of affection given to all the priests; only later on it was reserved exclusively to the pontiff of Rome. Had they wished to call him otherwise, they should have taken recourse to the same classical titles of the Pagan sovereign pontiffs. Indeed Tertullian, having become a heretic, in his book De Pudicitia, (On Chastity), ironically called Pope Callistus: Supreme Pontiff,

Bishop of bishops; which shows that the Roman pontiff claimed these titles for himself.

Saint Fabian (*236 - 250*). The burial of Pope Fabian in the cemetery of Callistus is attested by numerous testimonies. Setting aside the Martyrology of Jerome with its many gaps, all the editions of the Liber Pontificalis and all the other Martyrologies place him in the group of the Callistan cemetery. But the most eloquent testimony is the very epitaph of the pontiff martyr; for various reasons this epitaph is worthy of interest (Fig. 62.)

Fig. 62 — Inscription of Pope Fabian

Let us remark that the letters are no less beautiful than the letters of the Anteros epitaph; this is in harmony with the rule of epigraphy: viz, that the more ancient epitaphs are also the better executed. Same remark applies also to the three other papal epitaphs. There also we find the title of martyr, shown in the siglum or monogram union of the three letters MTR. We do not know anything about the martyrdom of this pontiff; the Roman clergy and Saint Cyprian inform us that he disappeared during the persecution of Decius and was a victim of the persecution. St. Cyprian was his contemporary. But the siglum is not traced with the same characters as the inscription, having been, seemingly, added, a little later on; which made De Rossi suppose at first that it was one of those falsifications, frequent at a later period. But, by a

more careful study, the great archaeologist took notice that this addition could be a result of the official decision of the successor of Fabian, Pope Cornelius. In fact, Decius forbade and prevented the election of the pontiff, who was proclaimed only a year and a half after the death of Fabian. Now, according to the then discipline, only by an official ratification of the martyrdom could a martyr, having been killed for his faith, be proclaimed such. This ratification was called vindicatio,vindication, certification, corresponding to our canonisation. The martyr so declared was called « martyr vidicatus », whilst, most likely, before this ratiffcation and during the examination of his cause, he was called: martyr designatus, a designated martyr.

Of this we have ample irrefragable documents: for proof, the example of a matron who, according to the words of St. Optatus, was punisshed with ecclesiastical censures, because she was in the habit of kissing devoutly the relics of martyr non vindicatus, not ratified, before going to the sacred table: though relics of a martyr, still he was not yet ratified : etsi martyris, sed nondum vindicati (1).

It is understood therefore why the singlum of the martyrdom in the inscription of Fabian is of different character from the inscription itself. The artisan must have been content with tracing it, as a graffito, not to break the rather thin slab already in its place.

Great was the astonishment to see siglum of martyrdon of Pope Pontian to be the very same as that of Fabian; consequently, both are the work of the same engraver: this would probably make us suppose

(1) Optat. Mi lev., De schismate Donatistarum, lib, 1, 16.

that the « vindicatio » of the two pontiffs was made at the same time by another Pope.

SAINT LUCIUS (June 25 253 — March 5, 254). Cornelius, the successor to Fabian was interred in the crypt of St Lucina. Of this, we shall speak later on in visiting this region. Lucius succeeded Cornelius and was Pope during nine months; some of the ancient documents say that he was buried in St. Callistus cemetery, others say, near St. Xystus: this formula generally indicates the papal crypt or chapel. The epitaph, (fig. 63) recovered in this place, confirms the preceding indications. Notice the elision of the O: ΛOYKIC = ΛOYKIOC.

Some wished to see in this, an idiotism already established in the II or III centuries; an archaic formula handed down from the Etruscans, or from the ancient Italian dialects. This is a problem for philologists to solve!

Fig. 63 — Inscription of Pope Lucius I.

SAINT STEPHEN (May 12 254 — Aug. 2 257). The history and martyrdom of Stephen I, says De Rossi, are a pure thicket of thorny and inextricable controversies. The Acts of his martyrdom recall, that he was surprised in the Lucina crypt, at the altar; that he courageously suffered death on his chair of bishop and that he was buried there: « In eadem cripta, in loco qui appellatur hodie coemeterium Callisti ». This all would be clear, but for the other contradictory documents: they say that St. Stephen was killed other-

wise and elsewhere ; for, in the ruins of the Papal Crypt or Chapel, which the author of the Acts confounded with the Lucina Crypt, fragments of poetry of Pope Damasus, already cited, were found, narrating the arrest and the murder of the Pope in this cemetery at the time of the schism of Novatian:

« Tempore quo gladius secvit pia viscera Matris
Hic positus Rector coelestia iussa docebam ».

« At the time when the sword pierced the tender heart of the Mother (Church), I, here buried, the Ruler, was teaching the laws of heaven ».

The Acts are not in error when they recall the martyrdom of a Pope in this souvenir to Pope Stephen instead of to Sixtus I, his successor.

Many documents indicate the « dies natalis » of St. Stephen on the Latin Way, where there certainly was a souvenir of him ; nevertheless the most ancient, as the Leonine Sacramentary, the Martyrology of Jerome and the Philocalian Index, give in clear terms the feast of St. Stephen in the cemetery of St. Callistus. But how explain this divergence of posterior documents? Most probably by the confusion of the topography of the sanctuaries.

St. Stephen, according to all probabilty, was killed on the Latin Way, so that there was a memorial in his honor on this Way. He suffered martyrdom with certain of his clergy, who, however were not interred as the pontiff, in the cemetery of St. Callistus. For this reason, whilst commemorating the clergy, they necessarily mentioned the pope, just as the liturgA connected the names of St. Cyprian and St. Cornelius; so that, the pilgrimes of the VIII century thought they saw the tomb of the pope and that of the face of the bishop of Carthage, whose figure was painted to

the left of the face of St. Connelius. Besides, the Liber Pontificalis, in one of its editions, clearly excludes the martyrdom of St. Stephen from the cemetery of St. Callistus-Here is what we read: « Suis temporibus est deportatus, postea nutu dei reversus est ad ecclesiam incolumis. Et post XXXIV dies tentus a Maximiano missus est in carcerem cum novem presbiteris et II episcopis Honorium et Castum et III diac. Xistum, Dionisium, et Gaium, Ibidem in carcerem ad arcum stellae fecit synodum et vasa omnia ecclesiae archidiaco suo Xysto in potestatem dedit vel arcam pecuniae post dies IV exiens sub custodia ipse capite truncatus est ». « Which means; In his time he was exiled, and then by the will of God, he returned safe to the Church. Having been retained thirty-four days, he was sent to prison by Maximian with nine priests two bishops, Honorius and Castus, and three deacons, Xystus, Dionysius and Gaius. In this very prison, under the arch of the star, he held a synod, and gave to his archdeacon Xystus, in his power, all the vessels of the church, or the trunk of money. After four days he went out under a guard, and was beheaded ».

As may be seen, it is principally owing to this fact, that the memory of Saint Stephen must be attributed out-side of the cemetery of Callistus; but there is something still more. In the life of Leo IV there is mention of the basilica of St. Stephen on the Latin Way at the 3 mile-stone; but, in reality, at the 3 mile-stone there was the basilica of St. Stephen, protomartyr. The canonist Bonzoni (XI century), gives as place of the martyrdom of St. Stephen, the cemetery of St. Sebastian. Now, at this epoch, the topography had already been confound edand neither of the

cemeteries of St. Callistus nor of St. Praetextatus, was distinguished from the cemetery of St. Sebastian. Now all this explains to us, how this confusion took place between the information given us by the various documents. We shall see that not St. Stephen, but St. Sixtus II was martyred in the cemetery of Callistus.

SAINT SIXTUS II — (257-258). What we may not read of St. Stephen I in the oldest documents, we find it as appying to St. Sixtus II; I speak of the arrest and martyrdom of the pontiff in the cemetery of Callistus, and of the extraordinary fame of this martyrdom in this section.

We have seen with what earnestness the pilgrims scratched the prayers and pious invocations in passing before the tomb of the Popes; we find the motive given there, why the cemetery was so often designated by the term of: ad Xystum, near Xystus.

If on the contrary Pope Stephen had undergone the fate which later documents attributed to him, then, without any doubt, « his » and not « his successor's » name should have been found on the walls of the Papal Crypt. If the bloody chair was seen by the pilgrims near the tomb of the Pontiff Martyr, that chair must have some relation to the tomb of Sixtus II, behind the altar, as may be seen in the reconstruction by De Rossi (fig. 56).

But there is a synchronous text which certifies this: in his LXXXII letter, St. Cyprian the bishop of Carthage, makes known to Successus, the death of Sixtus II officially announced to him by the Roman clergy: « Xystum autem in coemeterium animadversarium sciatis octave iduum augustarum die et cum eodem Quartum ». May you know that Xystus, martyred, has

been buried in the cemetery, the 8th day of the Ides of Aug., and with him Quartus.

The critics have shown that the end of the text should read: « et cum eo d. IIII, et cum eo diaconos quatuor; » for the most ancient manuscripts have these words! This information corresponds prefectly with other documents· In fact, of six deacons who, upon this occasion have been killed with the pontiff, *four* were interred in the cemetery of St. Callistus, and only *two*, Felicissimus and Agapetus, in that of St. Praetextatus... The Damasan poetry in the Papal Crypt reads:

« Hic comites Xisti portant qvi ex hoste tropaea, »

« Here lie the companions of Xystus, who bear away the trophies from the enemy ».

Then also the pilgrims visited on the Appian Way the « oratorium ubi decollatus est Xystus », « the oratory where Xystus was beheaded ». Hence, that other Damasan poetry recalling the pontiff taken by surprise in the cemetery, violently taken from his chair, can have nothing to do with Sixtus II.

This fact in itself may be clear; but not so, to all, the circumstances of the martyrdom. Some of the pilgrims visited the « ecclesiam parvam ubi decollatus est S. Xystus », « the little church where St. Xystus was beheaded », to the right of the Appian Way, after the church of St.S oteres; others thought they had seen this church to the left of the same Way. De Rossi remarked that the former information was added in the margin, and that in the cemetery of Praetextatus, besides the « ecclesia ubi decollatus est Xystus » of the topography of Einsiedeln, there was also an image of Sixtus II facing the Apostles Peter and Paul, and that on a near-by « loculus », a graffito bears the fi-

gure of two persons, one sitting on a chair, and the other, standing and unfolding a roll. Lastly, a graffito shows the print or mark of another chair.

There fore De Rossi concludes, since there is question here of a reminder of the chair of St. Sixtus, that it is not in the cemetery of St. Callistus but in that of St. Praetextatus that this Pope was taken by surprise, killed and thence transferred to the papal hypogeum, together wiht four of his deacons killed at the same time with him.

This is not the place to refute this opinion: but I shall point out the weak points of these arguments:

1. The deacons Felicissimus and Agapetus may have been killed with St. Sixtus in the cemetery of St. Callistus and then transferred to the cemetery of St. Praetextatus which is on the other side of the Way, the entrance to which could have been at an equal distance from the place of martyrdom as the entrance to the cemetery of Callistus. If on the contrary the pope had been killed in the cemetery of Praetextatus, it is not understood, why the bodies of the four deacons should have been carried to the cemetery of Callistus with the body of the Pope;

2.° The image of Sixtus in the cemetery of Praetextatus does not prove anything; for the images of St. Cyprian and of St. Optatus who are buried in Africa, are found in the crypt of Lucina, and in the chapel of St. Cecilia; those of St. Quirinus and of St. Sebastian, buried in the cemetery « ad Catacumbas »,

3° So also the persons outlined in graffitis on the slab of a loculus, (grave), would not prove anything, supposing even, says De Rossi, they represented St. Sixtus II and one of his deacons, We find, besides, similar scenes in the paintings of the IV century,

and oftenest they represent the soul before as Christ Judge.

4.° Now remains the information of the manuscript of Einsiedeln. But, first of all, there are numerous topographical errors in this manuscript; then the manuscript of Salzburg places the scene of the martyrdom of Sixtus II near the church or the cemetery of St. Soteres De Rossi observed that it is a marginal addition; at any rate, it is ancient. The only difference offered by the topography of Einsiedeln cannot counterbalance the synchronous testimony of St. Cyprian: « May you know that Sixtus was killed in the cemetery with four deacons », i. e., in the cemetery of the Church, in the « cemetery » by antonomasia, in the cemetery of Callistus. De Rossi comments on the following verses of Damasan poetry in honor of Felicissimus and Agapatus:

« Hic crucis invictae comites pariterque ministri
Pastoris sancti meritumque fidemque secuti: »

Here (lie) the companions of the unconquered cross and equally ministers, having followed the reward and the faith, of the holy pastor. »

and he admits that the two deacons may have been killed separately although on the same day and for the same cause.

Then also the Damasan poetry in the Papal hypogeum which, in this matter, would require a long discussion. I shall content myself to point out that there is question here of a fact that happened in this very place, and that the interpreters, living before the discovery of the fragments, (according to which the poetry should have been placed in the Papal hypogeum), were also of the opinion of placing the arrest of the Pope in the same location as this inscription does. Indeed,

the arrest is described as a local event and it is difficult, that in the sentence:

« Hic positus Rector coelestia jussa docebam, »
I, the ruler, buried here, was teaching the laws of heaven, »

the word *hic, here*, should refer only to the chair, which could be brought from elsewhere; the remainder of the action, the arrival of the soldiers seizing the pope sitting, cannot be understood, if it is transferred to a location different from the place where the poetry is. (1)

ST. DIONYSIUS. — (259-268). No monument has been discovered, recalling the memory of Pope Dionysius, the successor to St. Sixtus II. But the *Itineraries* and the *Notitia portarum* mention him between Anteros and Eutychian, and the *Liber Pontificalis* says, when it makes use of the ordinary formula, « that he was buried in the cemetery of Callistus. » Emperor Gallian gave back to this pope the cemeteries confiscated by Emperor Valerian; the Liber Pontificalis assures us, that this pope proposed priests to the churches and established cemeteries and parishes in his diocese; « Hic presbiteris ecclesiae dedit et cymeteria et paroecias diocesis constituit »; this may not be taken literally, but must be understood as indicating the reorganisation of the clergy, and the re-establishment of the ecclesiastical order and offices troubled during the persecution of Valerian.

(1) This book was already in press, when I had the idea of asking Mgr. Wilpert for his advice about the martyrdom of Sixtus II. The illustrious archaeologist told me, that after a epscial study of the subject, he came to the same conclusion. Besides, the regretted late Professor Armellini defend in his writings without entering into details, « that Sixtus II had been beheaded in a chapel above the cemetery of St. Calistus. »

SAINT FELIX (269-274). — In reference to St. Felix I, the documents show an almost irreconsilable difference. It would seem that Felix I, pope, was confused with Felix II, anti-pope. Whereas the *Philocalian Index* mentions his burial in the cemetery of St. Callistus and the Liber Pontificatis, on the Anrelian Way, Mr. Tillemont thought he had solved the problem by admitting a removal; and Mr. Paoli, not being able to destroy the high value of the ecclesiastical Calender, supposed, as against all the other texts, that the cemetery of St. Callistus was on the Aurelian Way. But now a days the authority of the Philocalian Index is incontested, whilst criticism has proved with what precautions the informations of the Liber Pontificalis must be used, on account of its inexactitudes, even of its errors and supposition.

Nothing more useful than this book, but also nothing, very often, more deceiving than it, in as far as documents are concerned. Besides the « depositio episcoporum, » the burial of the bishops, of the « Philocalian Index » the name of Felix is found in the cronological series of the popes buried in the cemetery of St. Callistus, in the various hieronymian manuscripts, and in the authoritative sylloges of Klosterneuburg and of Goettwei. In respect to the Itineraries, it is probable that the memory of two Felixes was venerated really in the VII century on the Aurelian Way; or, perhaps, Felix I did establish a cemetery there.

SAINT EUTYCHIAN (275-283). Nearly all the ancient documents of the church attest the burial of Eutychius in the cemetery of Calistus: they differ only as regards the date of deposition.

The Commander De Rossi supposes that this difference is owing to removals; for he could not conceive

that either by lie or caprice or error, anyone could substituted a different date from the opportunity of certain transfers; as a general rule they are not to be accepted so easily. An error of date is very easily committed in a manuscript, and there is no unlikelihood that this error will be repeated in the other manuscripts which depend on the first one. It does not seem that Eutychian was a martyr. In reference to his inscription, De Rossi says: «The paleography and the character of the epitaph are exactly similar to those of

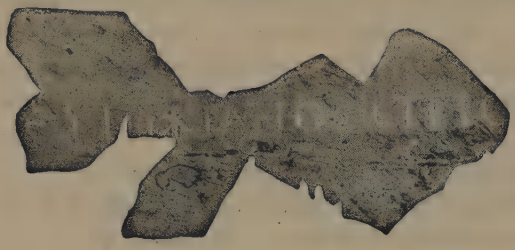

Fig. 64 — Inscription of Pope Eutychian.

the three epitaphs wich I have examined, of Anteros, of Fabian and of Lucius, rich in indications from the fact, that they are synchronous with the sepulture, and the title is sepulchral, not historical· The marble slab is thin, oblong, destined to close the niche of the cemeretial loculus: the engraving of the letters is made by a hand absolutely different from the hands which engraved the three preceding epitaphs; nevertheless the paleography differs but little in substance from theirs; the only difference lies in the negligence of the writing which systematically drops the symmetry of the measures and of the lines of each letter This decadence in the epigraphic art agrees with the epigraphy of Eutychian, thirty years later that of Lucius, under

Emperors Carus and Carinus, where this same negligence begins to show itself in the epigraphs of public works ». (Note 44, Roma sotterr., t. II, p. 72).

De Rossi thought that the body of Pope Cajus was transferred, during the persecution of Diocletian, to the Papal Crypt, as being a safer place. It may be so, but there seems not to be a sufficiemt reason for such a transfer in the confiscation of the cemetery of Callistus ; besides, my friend George Schneider, has proven by very strong reasons, if they be not irrefutable, the improbabiliy of such a transfer (Note 45 Cfr. Bullettino di Archeol. Crist., 1907).

The two following Popes were buried in the cemetery of Priscilla, perhaps on account of the persecution of Callistus. There is a memorial of Pope Marcellinus in an inscription in this cemetery, to be spoken of hereafter. The Popes Eusebius ane Miltiades were also buried in the cemetery of Callistus, but in two different places.

Before we pass on to the Chapel of St. Cecilia, let us remark two things: first, that the most honored tomb behind the altar, shows in front some brick-work of the time of the first Antonins; and, that the interior of the tomb supposes an alteration of the primitive decoration, thus indicating two different sepultures. De Rossi believe that, since the hypogeum of the Christian Caecilii was here, (in the hypothesis of the martyrdom of St. Cecilia under Marcus Aurelius (161-180), the Saint was at first buried here, then transferred to the next crypt, to make room for the Popes.

This explanation has the very great merit, of avoiding many difficulties and it is founded on very strong indications; but I shall not tarry in exposing and discussing the same, for I do not want to decide a question so

intricate of the epoch of the martyrdom of this Saint. (Note46, Cfr. on this suhject, my refutation of the opinion of Kellner in the « Ephemerides liturgicae, » 1907, Desclee, Rome). Secondly, that other persons besides the Popes were buried in this crypt, amongst others a little child-whose sarcophagus may be seen near the rightcolumn.

Now let us enter the crypt of chamber of St. Cecilia.

The crypt of Saint Cecilia.

In the left corner of the Papal hypogeum a small gallery leads to the crypt of St. Cecilia. The history of this noble Roman young lady is known, and it needs no repetition, Having been martyred in the house of her spouse, she was caried here, placed in a cypress coffin, itself enclosed in a marble sarcophagus, and deposited in a large niche, still to be seen no the left of the entrance. In the IX century the place of this tomb was unknown, on account of the havoc wrought by the Lombards of Astolphus. The body of the virgin was recovered A· D. 821 and transferred to a Basilica bearing her name beyond the Tiber and which had been constructed over her house where she also suffered martyrdom. In the XVI and XVII centuries her incorrupt body was used as a model for the beautiful statue by the celebrated Milanese Stefano Maderna, of which there is a fac-simile in plaster in the niche of the crypt. Cardinal Sfondrati assured the archaeologist Bosio that he felt under the garments of the Saint a rude cilice still adhering rigidly to her sacred members. Beside her tomb there was a recess in which a lamp was burning, furnished with precious oils, and close by was most probably her altar. The wall where her tomb is, was entirely lined in the IVth and Vth Centuries with mosaics, marble veneering and enamel sheets. But despoiled by time and still

more so at the hands of the barbarians, it was replastered at different times and covered with Byzantine frescos. From the frieze to the beginning of the vault having a lucernarium, the paintings are of the VIth

Fig. 65 — Fresco of the Crypt of St. Cecilia.

century, and a young Orant is represented there, as seen, in the midst of flowers, dressed as a Byzantine Empress with nimbus. No doubt but it is the image

of St. Cecilia in paradise. The flowers, garden, a tree even, signified in Chistian symbolism the refreshment, the home of preace, the eternal beatitude.

At the bottom and to the sides of this painting there are graffiti giving a great number of names, now isolated, now grouped, nearly all the names of priests with a cross preceding: Benedictus prb. Sergius prb.. etc. One of these names in particular attracted the attention of De Rossi: Ioannes presbyter v (es) ter. John your priest. It appears certain that such a qualification as « presbyter vester », indicates that this John was attached to the service of the basilica of St. Cecilia. In fact, A. D. 879, a priest by name of John was the titulary of this basilica and subscribed to the Council of Rome of that year. De Rossi suspected also that this is the same John who had caused the decorations to be made about the tombw of the Saint, after the discovery and removal of her body; for, in the remaining but now not existing outlines, thereof, De Rossi could read a formula very common in the Byzantine epigraphy of the IXth century, about thus re-established: Κύριε βοήθει τῷ δουγῷ σου ΙωΑΝνι.., ἀμηΝ † : - Lord, help Thy servant John. Amen ». But all this is mere conjecture.

From the frieze to the bottom of the wall the paintings belong apparently to the Xth and XIth centuries and represent in a niche, the picture of the Savior with the cruciform nimbus carrying a book richly bound and adorned with pearls. Then to the right of the niche, towards the tomb, the standing figure of Pope Urban I, with his name written vertically according to the custom of that epoch, and preceded by a cross; S. VRBAN. This painting seems to have been made after the trans er of the body of the Saint; at all events,

the author wanted to represent Pope Urban I, and not only a simple bishop of that time. Notice also the form of the pallinm which does not suit the VI century and which indicates the last transformation of this vestment In the IX century the pallium, though not having a different form from this one, did not generally show a cross on the shoulders, but one cross only at the end. A painting of St. Clement in Rome, perhaps of the IX century, showing a pallium of the kind described above, would be an exception.

Other paintings may be seen in the largest part of the lucernarium. They are divided in three panels:

a) in the first, the highest is the figure of a young lady, an « Orante, » (St. Cecilia);

b) in the middle, a cross between two lambs;

c) in the lowest and the largest are three images of saints, Policamus, Sebastianus, Curinus. The first is unknown; but his name is found with the name of St. Optatus, in the « Notitia nataliciorum », « the List of birth-days », the other is not a local martyr so-called. although he was buried here. So also the third. All three are clad in a laced tunic and a whitish pallium; at the feet of Policamus a palm-tree is shooting forth from the ground and Quirinius wears the sacerdotal tonsure, which, in the paintings later than the IV century was for the greater part the distinctive mark of the episcopate. Consequently, there is question here of St. Quirinius ot Siscia, whose body was transferred to Rome in the v century and buried in the catacombs of St. Sebastian, when the Hunns invaded the Roman Pannonias. It cannot be the other Quirinus, tribune, venerated in the cemetery of Praetextatus, next to St. Callistus.

Before leaving this crypt, let us notice that, near

the narrow gallery which communicates with the Papal crypt, a fragment of the inscription of Urban was found, ΟΥΡΒΑΝΟC, and that the epitaph of Pope Pontian was also found in three different parts of this crypt. Should we take literally, that Pope Urban buried St. Cecilia amongst the bishops, his colleagues? This question may not as yet be decided, but it deserves to be studied. The difficult problem concerning Pope Urban and the epoch of the martyrdom of St. Cecilia may be cleared up in the excavations now going on in the cemetery of St. Praetextatus.

It is quite natural for the descendants of the glorious martyr St. Cecilia to be buried near her. A large slab of marble, affixed near here to the wall of the crypt-portico, answering a sacristy, bears the inscription of a « Praetextatus Caecilianus » and of a « Petilia clarissima », (illustrious), most probably his wife.

This inscription is no later than III century, and certainly indicates two illustrious persons; the second belonged to a senatorial family.

Marangoni saw two sarcophagi in this crypt, which were backed against the walls; no traces of them may be found. There are three slabs with inscriptions. Here are two of them:

☧

*Octa*VIVS · CAECILIANVS · V · C ‖ *in pa*CE · DEPOSIT ‖ ... S · MAIAS · VIX ‖ *ann* . XXXXIII ‖ *dies* (?) VIII

Pompeia ATTICA ‖ C · F · VIX ‖ A · XVII · M · III ‖ D · XV.

They are the parents of a little daughter whose sarcophagus has been put here, it seems; daughter of a Caecilianus most illustrious; she bears the titles of nobility of her parents: Pompeia Octavia. Attica, Cae-

ciliana, little daughter, most illustrious. The inscription is in the Lucina region.

In the beginning, the crypt was not as vast as it is today; it was made larger at different times when the gatherings of the pilgrims required larger standing-room. As the cemetery of Callistus was formerly called: ad Xystum, near Xystus, it was also called ad S. Caeciliam, near St. Cecilia; the contiguity of these signal sanctuaries is admirably confirmed, not only by the monumental proofs given above, but also by the topographical documents, by the index of Abbot John and by the Acts of St. Cecilia (1).

In the recent excavations in the chapel of St. Cecilia, besides the inscription already mentioned of Pontian, a goodly number of other inscriptions, pieces of columns of cipollino (truncated columns), and Ionic capitals have been discovered.

The area of the Caecilii
its history ard its chronology.

A modern opening gives entrance to the first transversal gallery to the Area of the Caecilii, and, turning to the right, we come to the first ambulacrum A (fig. 51), a walk, an alley which marked the Northern limit of the primitive area, just as the ambulacrum B marked the Southern limit. All this region in the beginning had but one level which began at A' (fig. 66): it was only on account of a later deepening that the principal ambulacra got partly this extraordinary height.

Professor Bonavenia, of the Gregorian University,

(1) See the synoptical table of the topographical documents, p...

drew the attention of the savants to this principle: « the high galleries of the cemeteries suppose different epochs of excavations, they passed on to these by successive deepenings, diggings, which might be termed levels ». « The ambulacrum or gallery AA, section of which is seen in fig. 66, is divided in three levels by dotted lines traced by De Rossi. Nevertheless the rule of digging vertically must be equally applied to the name galleries, but only for the deepest part. In as far as the superior part is concerned, i.e. above the dotted line C' D', this rule, says De Rossi, does not hold, for the following reasons:

1) The superior part offers no indication of a greater antiquity than do the others; it would rather seem to belong to the IV century;

2) It was dug above an earth-work, upon which they could walk for a while; for, the two interior levels were

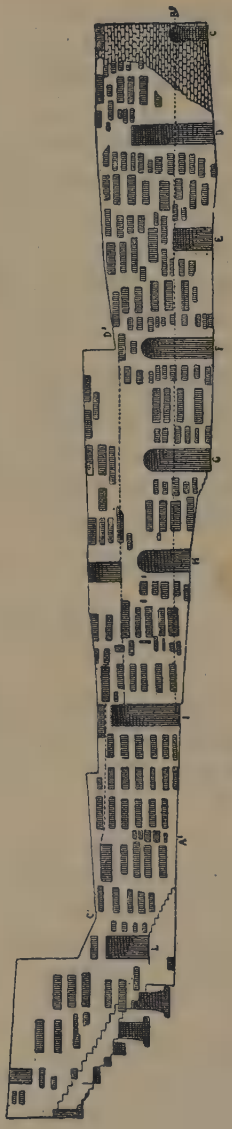

Fig. 66 — Longitudinal section of gallery AA.

filled with earth, at least at the beginning of the IV century.

Indeed, the section of gallery AA (fig. 67) proves clearly that in the beginning the ceiling of the first level, the one in the middle, was at *a b*, and that the second superior one was dug only after the first one had been filled to this point.

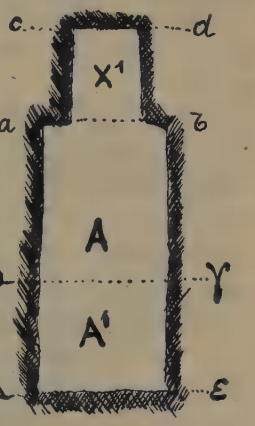

Fig. 67 — Transversal section of gallery AA.

This work of filling up is intimately connected with the history of the Papal Crypt. It precedes the first explorations of the catacombs and goes back to the highest antiquity. Whereas the earth used for this purpose is not local earth, it follows that in time of furious persecution and of confiscation of the Papal cemetery only, did the Christians fill in this part. De Rossi showed also, that it was during a confiscation that the two large stairways A and B (fig. 49) were obstructed and rendered impracticable; as a matter of fact, we do not understand why two so convenient stairways should be destroyed, unless it be by reason of necessity, especially in order to make safe the tombs of the pontiffs and of the martyrs.

The earth therefore used to fill up, after peace was restored to the Church, was not taken away, but was dumped and leveled so as to form a new piece of ground in which the highest level was dug. At the time this earth was removed, De Rossi found coins which certainly were in circulation at the time of this filling-up. All these coins are later than the second half of the III

century; there are: one of Aurelian, three of Claudius the Gothic. two of Gellian, one of Probus, four of Maximian and one ot Diocletion; when Boldetti, at the time he was searching for the bodies of martyrs, moved this earth, coins of a more recent epoch, belonging to the superior part, mixed in necessarily; they may have fallen in also when the new level was put to use.

The height therefore of the galleries AA, BB and CC (fig. 51), is in harmony with the state of the destruction of the stairways to make known the primitive history of the cemetery has another source in the region added to the gallery BB and communicating with an enormous arenarium. Wherefore this communication?

The great archaeologist De Rossi was busy specially with the architectural study of this region; his brother Stephen, upon attentive and detailed examination, concluded that this system of galleries was a way to enter and to leave the cemetery secretly whilst the ot her ordinary entrances were either destroyed, or watched by the soldiery. In fact, these numerous galleries had originally but one opening in the arenarium, and they seem so arranged that they deceived or retarded the persecutors.

At every turn, the gallery does not finish with an angle, but still continues a few steps, to end against the rock. Now just imagine a troup of soldiers venturing into these galleries: how often they must have butted against the tufa, how often they must have retraced their steps, in surprise and terror: Then again, the arenarium, curious as it may appear, has a suspended ladder, apparently and expressey for secret ingress and egress.

Such is, in brief, the opinion of the brothers De Rossi

concerning the cemetery of Callistus, as revealed by the monuments.

Let us now consider the monuments of the funereal Area. From the inscriptions and the paintings it seems that its origin dates back to the first Antonines. St. Zepherinus did not built this cemetery, but gave

Fig. 68 — Secret stairway of the arenarium of St. Cecilia.

it to his deacon Callistus to administer. Therefore it existed before the year 199, either as a private or as an ecclesiastical property. Its chronology is fixed by the spacious and regular tombs dug at great distances, by the absence of arcolosia, by the laconism of the inscriptions and the formulae written often in Greek characters, by the paintings, their technique, their secret symbolism, and the subjects represented by them.

We have spoken enough of the architectonic forms.

It is useless here to point out individually the other chronological indications. We shall rather examine the monuments. The two entrances are adorned also with

Fig. 69 — Chamber of the Sacraments A 2.

very fine stucco, showingesmall red and brown lines; so also the chamber of Orpheus, the chapel of the Popes,

and the two first chambers called Cappella dei Sacramenti « of the Sacraments » They are therefore synchronous works.

Moreover, as we advance in the gallery, the paintings are less beautiful, and less beautiful are also the stuccos of the other chambers; besides, these are at a lower level, and hence, they are of a more recent date.

The cambers of the sacraments.

The examination of the painting, one by one, will give us the same result.

Chamber I. — The first chamber to the right, at the foot of the stairway, has been transformed; the ground has been raised to the landing of the modern stairway; the ceiling has been elevated and the walls have been scratched. But for a little stucco, still adherent to the walls, there is nothing remarkable. On the plan of De Rossi it is called A^1, and serves as passege to the contiguous region (fig. 50 n. 10).

Chamber II. — Not so of the following chamber A (fig. 69). Very near the entrance to the left, between two tombs, we see three different subjects in one tableau (panel). *a)* Moses with his rod, striking water from the mystical rock, water of the eternal life; *b)* a fisherman has just caught a small fish in this water. How, in presence of this scene, should we not recall the image of Tertullian, « the little fishes born of the water » (1), i. e. the Cristians born in Baptism; and the word of Clement of Alexandria who recommended to his hearers to recall to their memory the great fishermau St. Peter, and the children (the neophytes)

(1) De baptismo, I,

drawn from the water? (1). All these words refer to the words of the Saviour addressed to Peter : « Henceforth thou shalt catch men », and to the Apostles : « Follow Me, I shall make ye fishers of men » ! *c)* In order to complete this tableau, there is the repast on the banks of lake Tiberias, where seven Apostles or disciples ate of the fish caught in the miraculous fishing : « The broiled fish, says St. Augustin, is Christ in His passion ; He is the bread come down from heaven into which the Church incorporates herself to have life everlasting (2). Piscus assus Christus est passus ; hic est et panis qui de coelo descendit ; huic incorporatur Ecclesia ad participandam beatitudinem sempiternam. (Fig. 70 and 71).

Fig. 70 — Symbolo of Baptism and of the Eucharist.

When De Rossi saw for the first time these repeated reprensentations of the fish, he felt not a littl embarrassed. But at that time all kinds of monuments were discovered bearing this mystic sign ; the meaning of the fish then became certain and evident. It meant Christ. I shall cite several of these monuments hereafter. Let us continue the examination of the paintings.

(1) Paedag., II, 3 (Migne, VIII, cl. 639).
(2) In Johan, tract. 123 (Migne, XXXV, col. 1966).

On the wall facing the entrance there is a single subject: it is the oldest representation of the administration of baptism to catachumens in Christian art, (fig. 71). The one to be baptised is naked, with his feet in the water; the priest, in sacred robes, (the tunic

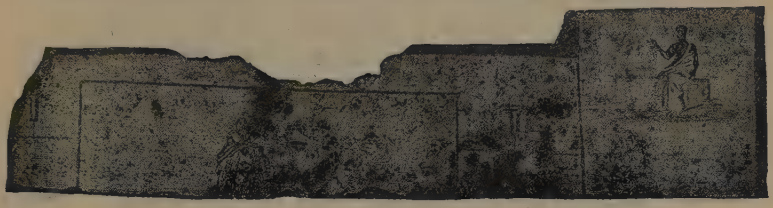

Fig. 71 — The baptism of the Catachumen.

and pallium), is holding his hand on the head of the catechumen. Most valuable representation, which shows us a manner of administering baptism, which certain heretics considered as insufficient: viz. by infusion. Above this subject and on the ceiling is a tripod on which are placed a fish and two loaves, and to the side, seven baskets of loaves. It is still the Divine Fish, but this time it is placed on the altar; it is an allusion to the multiplication of the loaves, which according to Origen and a great number of the Fathers, is a symbol and a figure of the eucharistic consecration, following in that, the very idea of Jesus Himself.

In the lunette, between it and the forgoing subject, there is a scene which, if treated in this way, is unique in the catacombal paintings; its interpretation is given us by analogous monuments: the ship (fig. 73). It is nearly covered by waves; notwithstanding, a person therein remains quiet in the midst of so great a danger in the attitude of prayer (1). The person is praying

(1) This explanation is Mgr. Wilpert's.

and his prayer is heard; the figure of a young man with two rays streaming from his forehead is leaning from heaven and places his hand on the head. There is no doubt, but we have here the image of divine succour, extended to the soul to save it from the waves of this world and from perdition. This idea is a very old one, and common in the liturgies of the dead· We read, for instance, in the Gallican Sacramentary / this prayer: « Lord, our Savior, Thou Who hast vouchsafe to receive the good out of the waves of this world... ».

The ship tossed by the tempest, is the Church, say the Fathers; and the act of the Lord reaching forth from the skies, and placing His hand on the head of the person in prayer, can be compared with the monuments which represents Christ as Judge in the same attitude: (fig. 39, and. 41). We may certainly apply to this subject the words of the inscription of the martyr Zosima: « Receive me near Thee, o Lord,... She was heard immediately, for she was admitted to enjoy (happiness). « The lot of an infidel is represented by another person struggling in the midst of the billows.

On the wall to the right we see: a) the resurrection of Lazarus, an eloquent symbol of final resurrection, of which Baptism and the Eucharist are the pledges; b) the dove, a symbol of the soul delivered from the fetters of the body; c) then follows a decorative detail: the dolphin on a trident (fig. 74). This is a pagan symbol which was probably adapted to a Christian idea, as other pagan subjects were, and it represents the cross, and the dolphin a figure of Christ. Who loves man.

The ceiling is divided with exquisite taste into

panels. In the middle is the image of the GOOD SHEPHERD.

The principal subjects therefore are: the spiritual

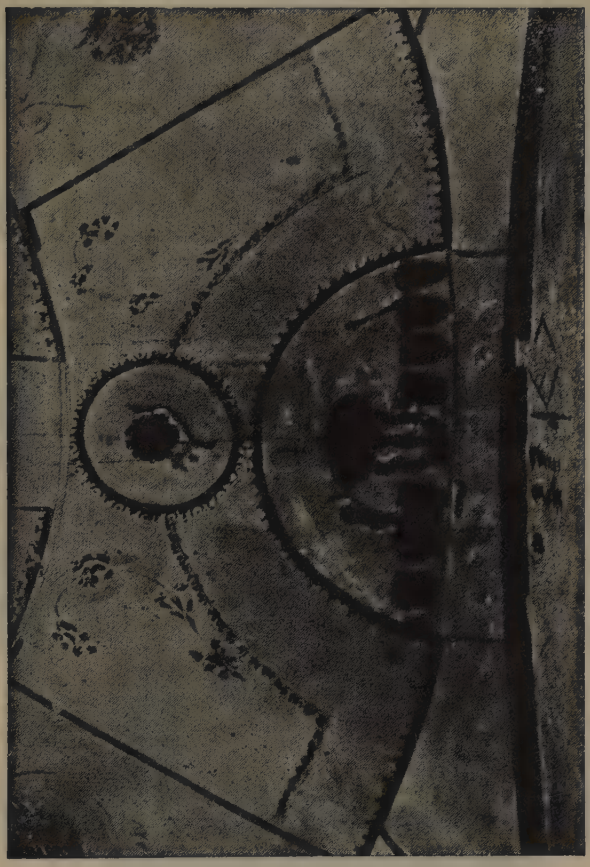

Fig. 72 — Eucharistic symbols.

birth, The Eucharist and the last things, except the ideas of damnation and of hell. These same subjects will repeat themselves in the following crypts.

Chamber III. — The floor of CHAMBER A is

the same as the primitive level, and as in the first gallery, digging was begun; there is a slight incline

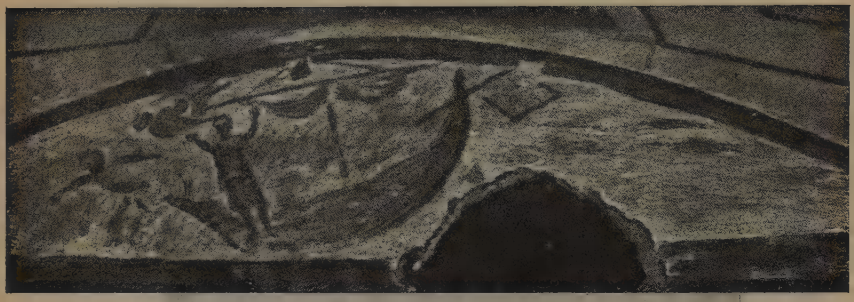

Fig. 73 — Symbol of the Church.

at the entrance. To the left, on the wall of the entrance, is the mystical rock, the source of grace, and Moses who

Fig. 74 — The Dolphin on a trident.

personifies Peter the minister. A series of types of baptism is on the left wall. The first is destroyed. The second is a fisher angling a little fish. At the side is the baptism of the Saviour, (fig. 75.) Jesus is represented for the first time as an infant, for the reason given above (p. 55); is naked and has his feet in water; John Baptist wears a simple tunic and pours water abundantly on the head of the Saviour. Behind John, higher up, is the dove, which is hardly visible now in the original. Then follows the figure of the paralitytic carrying his bed on his shoulders; he also is a type of baptism, for he reminds us of the bath in the miraculous pool. Father Marchi wanted to see in it even a figure of penitence.

Fig. 75 — Symbolo of Baptism, and of the baptism of Jesus.

The wall in face of the entrance is dedicated to the Eucharist; though they be separated, the scenes have a connecting link Abraham and Isaac are in the attitude of prayer and not of sacrifice. Beside them are the ram and the fagot: There is no possible doubt about the meaning of this scene. All the Fathers see in it a figure of the bleeding sacrifice of the cross. On the other side, and as a counterpart, is the mystical

sacrifice, the Mass. There is a tripod, the simplest form of the altar, to be placed against the tomb of the dead, to celebrate here the sacrifice of the anniversary. « pro dormitione » for the repose of the soul » On the tripod are a fish and a loaf of bread; to the right a man is standing covered with a Greek pallium, which leaves a party of his chest and his right shoulder

Fig. 76 — Sacrifice of Isaac.

bare; he is extending his hand as if he wished to take the fish. To the left is an ORANTE. De Rossi wanted to recognize therein the moment of consacration : his followers share his (this) idea. Mgr. Wilpert, studying most specially the origin and the development of the Eucharistic symbols, found that this one does not differ materially from all the others, and that man having befor ehim the fish and the bread, should be

thus interpreted: CHRIST multiplying the fishes and the loaves, a symbol of « consecration ».

However that may be, the meaning is the same and all agree on this subject. As for the Orante, De Rossi thinks she personifies the Church assisting at the sacrifice. Others, supported by the poetry of Albercius,

Fig. 77 — Symbol of the Eucharistic consecration.

thought that it is Faith, constant guide of the bishop of Hierapolis, especially when he sees everywhere the mystical fish served. According to Mr. Wilpert, it would be the soul of a departed; we shall see elsewhere the reason for this opinion.

In between these two figures of the divine sacrifice, we naturally find the eucharistic banquet, the consumation of the holy species (fig. 78). It is presented in its habitual type: seven persons aurond a « sigma»

or a table in the form of a C, the Latin letter for Greek sigma. on which table a fish is served, and before which is the ordinary allusion of the multiplication of the loaves.

This painting and the preceding one are synthetised in the painting of fig. 72 of the chamber A2. Hence their eucharistic meaning in more evident still-

On the right wall there ought to have been symbols of the resurrection; but unfortanately the plaster has disappeared entirely.

Fig. 78 — Eucharistic Banquet.

Finally, on the entrance wall there is the scene of the Samaritan woman. It is not the historical type, since the water of the well is overflowing, and the Saviour is represented seated higher up with an unfolded scroll in His hands. We have therefore here the image of that water which quenches thirst forever, as promised by Jesus to the Samaritan woman, which idea of refreshmeut we find so often repeated in the patristic, liturgical and epigraphic documents, and in the Acts of the Martyrs.

Between the highest tombs and the ceiling are the

three scenes of Jonas, reminding us of death and of resurrection, as we know.

In the middle of the ceiling is the slender and beautiful figure of the GOOD SHEPHERD, now hardly visible.

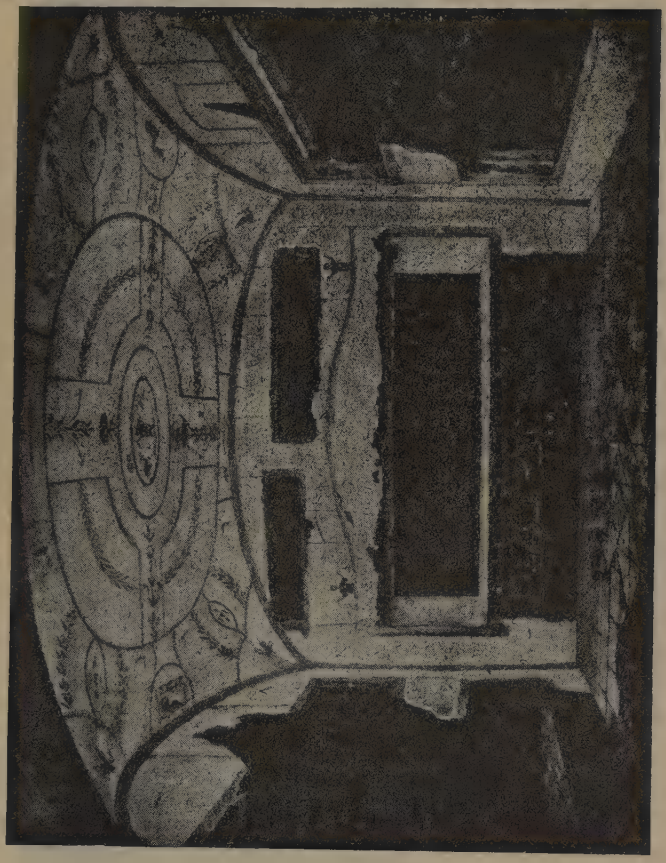

Fig. 79 — Chambre A-4 (close of II century).

Chamber IV — Chamber A 4 (fig. 51 and 79) has its floor raised and covered with marble of various colors, (opus alexandrinum, the ceiling appears to be very low. The paintings are generally decorative.

Chamber V. — Same remark applies to Chamber A^5 which has a vault, in the shape of a cradle; you must go down a step, to enter. Notice the usual banquet with the fish, around which are seated seven guests and near which are seven baskets, an allusion to the multiplication of loaves.

Chamber VI. — Chamber A^6 has less damaged stuccos than the others. We find there, in order, the series of the symbols of A^2 and A^3, but inversely, from right to left. We therefore see: Moses and the rock, the banquet with the fishes and the twelve baskets, the history of Jonas, the resurrection of Lazarus. Really the cycle could not be more perfect. Notice

Fig. 80. — Paintings of Chamber A-6.

though that the symbolism here is not as full of mysteries and ideas as are the first chambers; this indicates an epoch of later days, just as the lower level of the chamber and the less perfect art of the paintings.

In face of the last scenes of Jonas and of Lazarus, the beautiful verses of Damasus already cited, and the tender prayer of the Apostolic Constitutions come back to my memory: « We believe also in the resurrection, for the Lord Himself is arisen. He it is, Who recalled Lazarus to life, after he was buried three days, Who raised the daughter of Jairus to life, and the son of the widow; Who, also, by order of His Father, is raised after three days and is thus become the pledge of our own resurrection, — He who after three days, saves Jonas living and intact from the belly of the monster, Who saved the three young men from the furnace, and Daniel from the jaws of the lions, He can also save us from death. » (1)

Fig. 81 — Symboles of death and of resurrection.

In this last chamber they placed also an inscription referring to the Caecilii: SERGIUS ALEXANDER CAECILIAE FAUSTAE CONJUGI SVAE BENEMERENTI FECIT;

(1) V. MIGNE I, col. 843.

Sergius Alexander made this to Caecila Fausta his well-deserving spouse.

Let us now pass on to the inscriptions of their *area*.

Inscriptions of the first area.

Beginning at the stairway, at the foot, to the right, (fig. 51), there is an ancient slab with only two names, PRISCA ET MVSES, engraved in beautiful letters. To the right is the Good Shepherd towards whom a lamb, full of expression, is looking; behind it, a tree, the symbol of paradise; on the other side an ORANTE. The inscription is perhaps of the close of the II century.

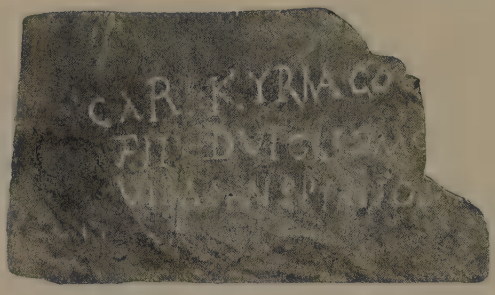

Fig. 82 — CAR KYRIACO FIL DULCISSIMO VIBAS IN SPIRITO SAncto.

Further on, against the wall, is the important inscription of Cyriacus: (fig. 82): « Car Kyriaco Fil dulcissimo Vibas in Spirito SA... To dear Cyriacus, very sweet son. May thou rest in the (holy) Spirit. »

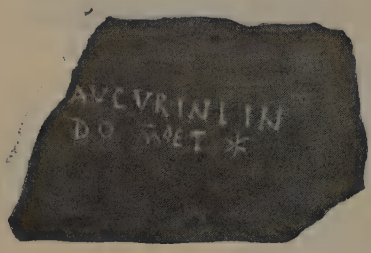

Fig. 83 — AVGVRINE IN DOM(ino) ET

Further on, to the left, another important inscription: « Augurine in Domino et ✳ :

O Augurinus (live) in the Lord and in Iesus Christ » (fig. 83).

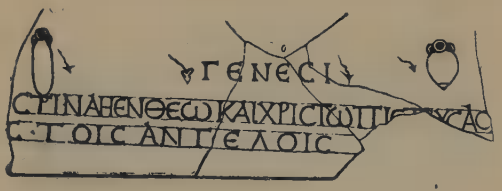

Fig. 84.

These two inscriptions are analogous with two others found near this place. (Figg. 84 and 85):

« To Genesis. Christina, who, having believed in God and in Christ, is with the Angels.

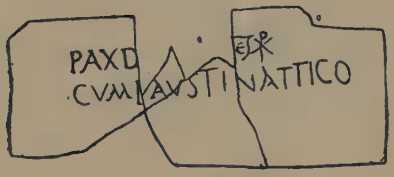

Fig. 85.

Pax Domini et Christi cum Faustin... Attico. May the peace of the Lord and of Christ be with Faustinus Atticus. »

These formulae are borrowed from an old « formula fidei, » a formula of faith, and give us the principal articles of the Apostoli: Symbol in use in Rome before the Council of Nicea (1).

Under the inscription of Augurinus there are several intact tombs.

A few steps further on, to the right, is the inscription of Priscus, with a sentence taken from the funeral liturgy: « Priscus in pacem (suscipiatur). » May

(1) See my vol. II, lib. I, Notiones archaeol. christ., for the relation between these inscriptions and the Gnostic heresies at the times of Popes Zepherinus and Callistus.

Priscus be received in peace; this is accompanied by a picture of the Good Shepherd. (Fig. 86).

Fig. 86.

Under this inscription are to be found tombs called by De Rossi « sepolcri a mensa, » table-tombs: (see: arcosolium) at the bottom of the gallery is the group of fish and the anchor, corresponding to the epigraphic sentence: Spes in Christo, in Deo. Hope in Christ, in God. By the side of it, the following inscription:

REDDETE BENEMERENTI FECIT MATER To Redditus well-deserving, his mother made this. There are carved: a vase, indicating the fragile body of the dead, and a dove, ready to fly from an upset basket full of flowers. This is a pagan symbol: the upset basket meant the body of the dead, and the bird, the parting spirit. Another example of this is found in the cemetery of Domitilla.

Having gone beyond the gallery which leads to CC (fig. 86), we see to the left this inscription:

EUGENI SPIRITVVS IN BONO.

Spirituus is for Spiritus tuus; the inscription is then a wish for eternal life: « O Eugene, may thy soul be in happiness, (the eternal GOOD). The soul is represented by a rude and mutilated dove.

Near by the incomplete inscriptions of a Pomponius Bassus and of a Pomponius Graecinus were found.

Here are two remarkable inscriptions found in the region which comunicates with the arenarium :

AGATEMERIS . SPI
RITVM . TVVM . INTER
SANCTOS

« *O Agatemeris, may thy soul be amongst the saints.* »
This inscription is between two doves. which represent the saints.

IANUARIA BENE REFRIGERA ET
ROGA PRO NOS

Januaria, be refreshed and pray for us.

At the point where the stairway B was destroyed, the fossores dug a first story which, at present, on account of its dilapidated state, presents nothing remarkable.

Before leaving the first area in the cemetery of Callistus, you might ask me where the thousands of martyrs were deposited (multa millia), whom the pilgrims of the VII and VIII centuries indicated in this place, and where were the 80 martyrs or more, buried near St. Cecilia.

In the second transversal gallery H H, a large stairway was discovered descending near the crypt of St. Cecilia. De Rossi, thinking that it was the famous polyandria, (1) of the 80 mayrtyrs, caused it to be cleared away. Arriving at the foot of the stairway and opening several yards of the gallery, they saw that they ended against a very friable rock and without tombs. This stairway was then the result of an

(1) A tomb in which were heaped together a whole crowd from the Greek πολύ, ανήρ man.

attempt of the fossores to dig a third story, made useless by the friability of the rock (1).

In the gallery C C there is a series of large polyandria where crowds of cadavers were thrown together pell-mell. Now, it is certain that the Christians were loathe to deposit one body upon another: Tertullian tells us a well-known legend, that a dead body retired to the bottom of a loculus in order to leave room for another one which the fossores wanted to place on him. In order to explain the presence of these polyandria, De Rossi proposed two hypotheses: that of an epidemic and that of a wholesale slaughter. The illustrious archaeologist was rather inclined towards the latter, and an old grave-digger, who always accompanied him in his explorations, stated that he had seen De Rossi at various time kneel down in prayer, when passing by these tombs.

THE AREA OF SAINT MILTIADES (fig. 50, II).

This is the second area of the cemetery of Callistus, says De Rossi. Mgr. Wilpert does not share this view: to believe him, it is not an area, but the meeting-point of several surrounding areae. It would be the result of the continuation of the region of the CAECILII, which begins under the Damasan stairway, and was indicated

(1) Notice that the steps are covered with tiles bearing underneath the marks of fabrication, (a trade-mark, as it were) appearing to be synchronous with the establishment of the stairway. De Rossi follows the opinion of Marini, and believes them to belong to the time of Commodus; according to Dressel, they belong to the epoch of Septimius Severus. Howsoever that may be, it is another most precious chronological indication, for this reason that, if the work is contemporaneous with these factories in activity, it was undertaken when the rectangular area was already developed.

by the letters PRS; of the continuation of the region of St. Eusebius (III) which De Rossi called the third area, by the gallery o o; finally, of the continuation of the region of St. Lucina, named by De Rossi « ancient anonymous cemetery. » These continuations show the characters of antiquity anterior to those of the second region; reasonably then it must be said that the latter is more recent.

The principal reason which caused De Rossi to accept this opinion, was the fact that his brother thought he had recognized the ruins of a stairway in the gallery a a, communicating with the former region by way of A^1 (no. 10). There is a lucernarium there, having extraordinary inclined sides, which all around are reinforced by (brick-) walls : a stairway leading to the third story is found there: a second stairway must needs have been there, communicating with the surface of the ground.

To say the truth, the reason for the existence of a stairway in that place could not be understood; it would have been too steep, and no traces of it remain; then the impossibility of any stairway whatever, which requires space. The walls were here, as in the gallery o o, absolutely necessary on account of the cella trichora (a trible apsidal exhedra) built above it (p. 86 fig. 53). Epigraphy furnishes us with another reason, which I shall explain when we visit this region; now let us return to the stairway at the entrance. Under it are several chambers and a gallery whence starts the gallery S.

In the first of these chambers is the following inscription, written in very beautiful characters and repeated twice in different sizes. According to De Rossi, it presents one of the rare samples of the monogram prior to Constantine the Great:

FL CARTILI CORNELIANI DEP
XVIII KAL SEP

The deposition or burial of Flavius Cartilius Cornelianus, Aug. 14 th.

In another very elegant chamber is the famous inscription of Dasummia.

DASVMMIA QVIRIACAE BONE FEMINE PALUMBA SENE FEL QUAE VIXIT .... LXSDEPOSITA IIIIKAL MARTIA ... IN PACE.

Dasummia Quirica a good lady, a dove without gall, guile-less) who lived LX-S-Buried the IVth Cal. of March. In Peace.

The soul which was called » the holy spirit » was also called « dove », which explains the meaning of the dove so often represented on the tombs.

In another chamber a small marble covered step bears this affectionate and short inscription.

SATURMI ANIMA DULCIS: SATURMIVS, SWEET SOUL.

At the entrance of the gallery S are seen also these characteristic inscriptions:

MNHCΘH Θεός, ZHCH εν Θεω. — May God remember ... Live in God.

ATTIKIANOC, Atticianus, (written twice on the moist plaster of a loculus.)

CIPIKA ΕΞμλΘεν Μμνῶν θ. — Sirika has left (this world), aged 9 months. »

ΑλεΖαΝΔΡΟ Π Ι ΕΝΘΕω. — « Alexander, drink in God! », a wish for the departed to be admitted to the eternal banquet.

VALERIANUS,

In these and other omitted inscriptions, let us admit with De Rossi: " Greek language which predominates,

writing of a beautiful character, ancient symbols, i. e. anchors, ship and dove with olive-branch; single names, or epitaphs of a short and classic formula ,, (1).

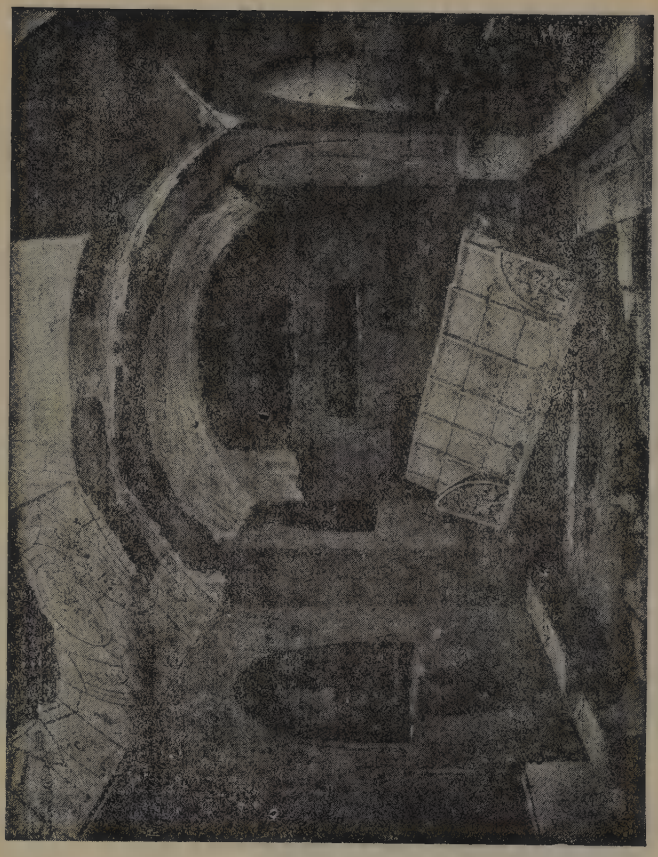

Fig. 87 — Crypt of St. Miltiades

All this seems to point to the first half of the 3rd century.

Here are the principal inscriptions of the gallery « a a » and places around:

(1) Roma sotterr:, t. II, p. 272.

IVSTINUS. Justinus.

LAODIEIES ET FILIORVN. Tomb of Laodicia and her sons.

FORTVNVNA SE VIVA FECIT: Fortununa made this tomb during her life-time.

EIPHNH. On this tomb there is a very beautiful Orante standing on the pedestal; a dove with an olive-branch in its beck, just as in the scene of Noah, is flying in her direction. On a small fragment of a sepulchral slab of this same region, the Ark of Noah was represented; but instead of Noah, there was a female figure in a standing position and at prayer, and towards her the dove was flying. The meaning of the Ark is clear; but it is evident that a departed soul was here, substituted for Noah as may be seen on other monuments also. Near here, in gallery b, in an arcosolium, Daniel is painted amidst the lions; but instead of Daniel we see the dead person arising half out of his grave. Really no one could wish a clearer demonstration of the meaning of the catacombal paintings.

On the pavement is also the inscription in most beautiful letters of a certain Alexander, who had prepared this tomb for himself and wife:

Ο ΤΟΠΟC ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ
ΚΑΙ CΥΜΒΙω ΕΠΟΙΗCΑΝ

Fig. 88 — Paulus Exsorcista Depositio Martyries V. (Martyrdom V).

Here are two chambers (fig. 52, nos. 5 and 4) one to the right and the other to the left, of the gallery. The first has name: Saint Miltiades, because the body of this pontiff, who died in 315, (fig. 87), is supposed to have been buried here, in a magnificent sarcophagus. The reason for this opinion lies in the majestic and admirable lid. It is

in the form of a roof and of pagan style; and decorated with masks; and on the front part are sculpted the Good Shepherd with His flock. This crypt was not intended at the beginning for a sepulture; all around may be seen a step or a bench at the extremities of which there are separate and higher

Fig. 89 — Chambre of the Four Seasons.

seats; this was the arrangement then in force, for the tables, at whose extremities more worthy persons were seated. This right was reserved to the president of the reunion. Marble slabs covered the walls as far as the beginning of the vault; from there, to the summit of the lucernarium, there is a decoration of stuccos with the resurrection of Lazarus, of the Good Shepherd and

of another entirely effaced scene. On the floor is the inscription of an Exorcist (fig. 88). There has just found the Greek inscription of a certain Paul with this beautiful acclamation: ΜΕΤΑ ΤωΝ ΑΓΙωΝ *(Live) with all the Saints*

The chamber to the right is painted gracefully according to the classical style: there are small groups of dolphins, birds, flowers and the personifications of the four Seasons. These last are of the pagan style; but by adaptation to the Christian idea, they could be made to represent death and resurrection. So, Tertullian, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine and others have made beautiful comparisons between the seasons and the life of a Christian. The chamber has three arcosolia, arranged in the form of a cross: it is nearly the beginning of a basilica. The same remark applies to the other chamber.

Just outside, a few steps to the right, we read on a heavy and rude marble slab:

ΑΜΕΙΜΗΤω ΓΑΥΚΥΤΑΤΗ ΜΗΤΡΙ ΛΟΥΚΑΝΗ
ΛΟΥΚΙΛΛΑ ΘΥΓΑΤΗΡ ΕΠΟΙΗCΕΝ
ΚΑΘΑΘΕCΙC ΠΡΟ Ζ ΚΑΛΑ ωΚΤωΒΟΕΙωΝ

"To the incomparable and sweet mother Lucana, Licilla her daughter has made (this tomb). The burial took place seven days the Calends of October.

Another inscription against the wall, reminds us of the formula, « Memento mortuorum », of the Mass: MARINE.... QVE PRAECESSIT IN PACE. Marina who preceded in peace.

The following chamber to the righ (no. 8) is called the chamber of Sophronia, because a pilgrim of the IV century seemed to have been praying before the tomb of a person called Sophronia, of whom he left the souvenir in different places of this cemetery, with

touching sentiments of affection and of piety. At the foot of the Damasan stairway, he wrote on the plaster;

SOFRONIA VIBAS CVN TVIS — Sophronia, may thou live with thine!" ... In the gallery, under the stairway, he wrote again:

SOFRNIA IN DOMINO. — « *Sofronia* (lives) *in the Lord* ». Finally, in the sepulchral chamber next to the above mentioned arcosolium, can be read the following words written by the same hand :

SOFRONIA DVLCIS SEMPER VIVES DEO — Sweet Sophronia, thou shalt always live in God!" As if that were not sufficient, he wrote under the words just traced; SOFRONIA VIVES DEO; Yes, Sophronia, thou shalt live in God!"

Fig. 90.

It seems that human affection alone could have inspired the first graffito; but immediately the thought raises, and in the last graffito, it is not only the desire, but the certainty, repeated twice, that the dear soul of Sophronia is in the bosom of God.

In chamber (9) just opposite, a graceful sarcophagus of a child has been restored having the lid in the form of a roof adorned with masks. The bas-reliefs represent the customary scenes: stronger animals devouring weaker with ones, which the pagans indicated destruction, signified by the name « of sarcophagus. »

Turning to the left under an arch built in ancient times, we find amongst others, the following inscriptions.

Fig. 91 — Chamber of the Ocean.

Ἀθηνοδώρου κατάθεσις πρὸ ιβ καλ. μαρτίων –

« The burial of Athenodorus took place twelve days before the Calends of March ».

PONTIUS ATENAGORAS QUI VIXIT. AN. XXII VIRGO. — Pontius Athenagorus, who lived a virgin 22 years.

Here also was found this graceful inscription: VINCENTIA IN ☧ PETAS PRO PHOEBE ET PRO VIRGINIO EIUS. — Vincentia, live in Christ, and pray for Phoebe and her husband! » (1).

Turning then again to the left, by d d, we find chamber or crypt, called the OCEAN (fig. 91 and 52 no. 11). It is small, rudely painted, and exhibiting a strange mixture of architectonic subjects and lattice-work made of reeds. A painting of the GOOD Sheherd was here; but the inspiration of the decoration is in general pagan. In the middle are a head with lobster's claw, a symbol of the Ocean, and a portrait; then to the side, some birds, figures of mutilated persons, peacocks and flowers. Only the bust of a portrait remains; the face was painted on canvas, now rotted away. There were lively discussions about the sex of this figure: De Rossi said it was the figure of a man; others, with Mgr. Wilpert, said it was that of a woman. In truth, the ending ISSIME, of an incomplete word is seen, and in the IV century the dead women were mostly always represented wearing a toga. This painting is precisely of this epoch and shows a toga.

From the gallery d d we pass to the gallery o o, the part of which, going to the left, is contained in the region of St. Miltiades.

There is nothing remarkable, except that part which is supported by a reinforced wall, on account of the triabsidal basilica, of which I have already spoken.

(1) Virginius and Virginia were the names of that who had never before been married, i. e. *conjuges a virginitate*, spouses from the time of time of their virginity. We know that second marriages where not recommended by the Christians of the first four centuries, although the Church accepted and defended it even against the heretics.

ram Museum, giving the date of the pontificate of Liberius: « Sub Liberio papa; under Pope Liberius ». This is chronologically the second of its kind, either for the form or because the title of Pope is given the bishop of Rome.

« *de*FVNCTA. EST, EVPLIA. QVAR
TO. IDVS. MAIAS. QVIEVIT. ANNORV
QVINQVE. DEPOSITA. IN. PACE. SVB LIBERIO. PAPA.

Euplia died the 4th of the Ides of May; she lived five years; she was buried under Pope Liberius.

Before the piece of marble, bearing the word *PAPA* was found. the inscription had been completed as given in fig. 92.

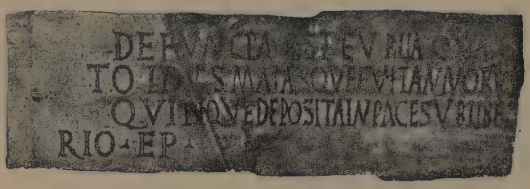

Fig. 92 — From the museum of the Lateran.

Let us pass on to the region of St. Eusebius.

Region of Saint Eusebius.

This region seems to be, chronologically, the second; but in fig. 52 it is marked III, as on the plan of De Rossi. It begins at its own stairway, and was reinforced in its principal artery *oo*,; a first story was dug; its first outlines, as those of the contiguous regions (fig. 52 and 53), recall to memory the gromatic (surveying or laying-off) operation of the augurs, when they traced on the ground the limits of a camp. or of a temple,

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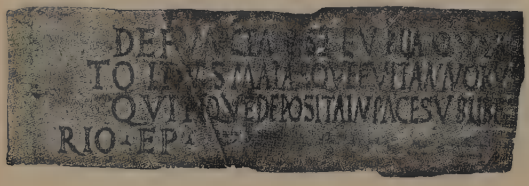

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or the plan of a city (1). By following the gallery *oo*, we get to the foot of the stairway, noticing in passing a mutilated inscription with the formula « IN PACE inter SANCTOS, in peace with the Saints »; also:... FILIAE IN DOMINO vivas », and cLAUDI VIBAS in *ae*TERNO. In the arcosolium at the end of chamber 8 is still in its place the inscription of three persons:

DEP. PROFVTVRI. III. KAL. MAR.
Burial of Profuturus, the 3rd Calends of march.

DEP. QVIRIACI. VI. IDVS. IVN.
Burial of Quiriacus, the 6th Ides of June.

DEP. PRIMI. V. NON. IVLI.
Burial of Primus, the 5th Nones of July.

In the one to the left, are the remains of an excellent inscription of a widow to her deceased husband:

Q. *ofi*LIO TROPHIMO . FECIT . AE*lia* CAPITOLINA CONIVGI SANCTISSIMO.

« *To Quintus Ofilius Trophimus most virtuous husband, Ælia Capitolina has made this (tomb)* ». There are the three titles of the deceased, who was not therefore of ordinary condition; the paleography resembles very much that of the inscription of a certain « Pancarius » on the floor. At the beginning, the crypt had neither loculi nor arcosolia; it was destined, as the two on the opposite side, to liturgical assemblies (Nos. 6 and 7). In fact, all these tombs were dug by breaking through the plaster. Amongst them is yet one of a child which is still closed. A lucernarium over the gallerygives light to this chamber and to chamber No. 7, just opposite.

(1) Cfr. my book Nonnulla de symbolismo liturgico, Rome, Desclee, 1907.

stantly follows the symbol of the eucharist. The sarcophagus is posterior to Constantine; for as a rule, the sculptures, with the symbols evidently Christian, could not have been executed, generally speaking, before the peace of the Church. No inscription gives us the name and the quality of the deceased; it is probable that the inscriptions were taken away from the floor from the very first devastation.

Some wanted to see in these three chambers a place destined for the cult, and, consequently, in the three enclosures, the distinction of the places for the clergy, the men and the women. De Rossi has even compared these three chambers with the underground basilica of St. Agnes (1) . It is nevertheless certain, that outside the funeral liturgy at which only the friends of the deceased assisted, no other office nor the domenical Mass which was public, could have been celebrated there, for want of space.

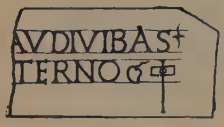

Fig. 94.

O Claudius, mayest thon live for all eternity.

Let us now pass on to the other branch of the gallery. To its wall is fastened the following inscription:

BACCIS DVLCIS ANIMA IN PACE DOMINI QVE VIXIT ANNOS XV VIRGO DIES LXX PRID KAL SEPTEMBRES PATER FILIE SV*ae* DULCISSIME –

« *Baccis, sweet soul, in the peace of the Lord. She lived 15 years, a virgin, 70 days, and died on the eve of the kalenes of September. The father made (this tomb) for his sweet daughter* ».

Crypt No. 10 is vast, high and lighted by a lucernarium from the crypt on the other side. A great

(1) Roma sotterr., t. Ii, p. 297.

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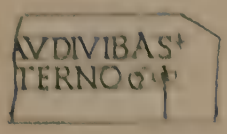

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(1) Roma sotterr., t. II, p. 297.

number of fragments has been gathered here; one of the most important is the inscription of Sylvanus:

IN PACE SPIRITVS SILVANI AMEN

In peace, the spirit of Sylvanus, Amen.

Here are manifestly, says De Rossi, liturgical prayers, principally such as were offered when the tomb was being closed. This crypt has received name of St. Caius (283-290); and the mutilated inscription of this pope has been placed here:

Γαιοϛ ΕΠΙρχόπου
ΚΑΘ
πρὸ ι ΚΑΛ. ΜΑΙων

« *Deposition of bishop Caius the 22nd of April* ».

This date was thus completed according to the information of the Philocalian Index and the Liber Pontificalis. Two othes dates are given in the Martyrologies; in the estimation of De Rossi, they are the dates of transfers. My friend, Dr. George Schneider, nephew of the great archaeologist has proven pretty strongly that these transfers are little probable (1), but the question is still historically open. What imports, is that the fragments recovered here belong certainly to the official epitaph, if I dare say so, of Caius; that this pope was not interred in the hypogeum of the popes, but that, as Cornelius, Miltiades and Eusebius, he was buried in the cemetery of Callistus, *in crypta* in a crypt, *in antro*, in a grotto, which means, in a different place from that of the other pontiffs. We shall see here after a souvenir of the cult of this pope.

Let us remark that this crypt was visited by pilgrims who left indications of the passage. The walls, especially on the sides of the *loculus* where the inscriptionis,

(1) N. Bull. di Archeol. Crist., maggio 1907.

juxta, beside, *sanctos*, the saints, and had also real chambers dug, very oftent called « retro sanctos »; here we have an example. It is not the tomb of poor but of rich people: the abundant light which penetrates by the lucernarium, was reflected formerly on the marble of many colours and on the glass cubes of the mosaics which adorned the walls and the arcosolia.

In the little passage, on the left wall, a graffito reads:

FECIT ICONIVS... ADALBAV... IOC LOC.,. DIEBVS X.

« Iconius made and coated (in white) this place in ten days ».

Above it is a monogram, and to the left, also in graffiti, the figure of a man and another monogram.

The crypt on the opposite side, (N. 9, fig. 95), bears the name of St. Eusebius, and gives its name to the entire region. It is very irregular, with three arcosolia arranged in the form of a cross; it was admirably decorated with various kinds of marble and mosaics, provided with a large lucernarium, and singular thing, with a « *matreneum* » which may be reached from the first story. The inscription there re-discovered is not the original of Damasus. but a copy made perhaps in the VI century under Pope Virgilius after the siege by the Goths (fig. 96); it was engraven on the reverse of a pagan inscription issueing perhaps from the thermae of Caracalla. It is one of the rare inscriptions mentioning the fourth consulate of this Emperor. He who engraved made more blunders than words. He must have put to torture the spirits of the archaeologist, not had the poetry been copied in different documents. De Rossi had hardly noticed the small marginal letters of the inscription, when he was convinced that there

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was question of the signature of the famous engravor of the IV century, and he there read the name of FURIUS DIONYSIUS PHILOCALUS, the illustrious calligraph of the Liberian Calendar. The fragments of the original marble helped to reconstruct the poetry which is seen under the arcosolium to the right. But, it is not exact; two new fragments discovered last year show us that the letters in the different lines were not of equal dimension, that there were signs of very elegant interpunctuation and that the letters of the right column read: DAMISI... PAPAE... and not DAMASI SVI PAPPAE, nor as the copy of the VI century, DAMASIS PAPPAE (fig. 97).

This poetry is a page of ecclesiastical history, unknown before the discovery of this crypt; for, if the text in different collections was extant, there was wanting the dedication reproduced in the copy:

DAMASVS EPISCOPVS FECIT
EVSEBIO EPISCOPO ET MARTYRI,

Damasus, bishop, made (this) for Eusebius, Bishop and Martyr.

Then liturgy itself had to be corrected: the feast of Pope Eusebius, Confessor, was celebrated; today, he is venerated as a Martyr, The poetry therefore is of the greatest interest, and deserves a short commentary. Here is the text of the inscription:

Heraclivs vetvit labsos peccata dolere
Evsebivs miseros docvit sva crimina flere
scinditvr in partes popvlvs gliscente fvrore
seditio caedes bellvm discordia lites
extemplo pariter pvlsi feritate tyranni
integra cvm rector servaret foedera pacis
pertvlit exilivm Domino svb ivdice laetvs

analogous passage of St. Damasus, it will not have the sense given it. We know that Pope Marcellinus was obliged, as were Pope Cornelius and Bishop Cyprian, to exact of the « lapsi », (whom the Catholics called miseri, misərrimi, unfortunate, most unfortunate) a certain penance, the first part of which consisted in remaining at the door of the church, there to weep over their sins; and Damasus, alluding to this fact in the poetry he composed in honor of this same Pope, said:

VERIDICUS RECTOR LAPSOS QUIA CRIMINA FLERE.
PRAEDIXIT MISERIS FUIT OMNIBUS HOSTIS AMARUS.

That is, the pontif became for all the « laps » a bitter enemy, by enjoining them to weep over their crimes « quia praedixit lapsos sua crimina flere, fuit omnibus miseris (lapsis) hostis amarus ». Of the meaning were different, we could not understand why they should have received them again into the Church.

At present, the most learned epigraphists are agreed upon this interpretation. Nevertheless Mommsen and several others, following the opinion of Tillemont and de Merendá, who see in Eusebius a severe pope, who would prefer exile and death to a measure of prudence and mercy; they interpret the sixth verse:

INTEGRA CUM RECTOR SERVARET FOEDERA PACIS

« Although the « ruler » was preserving the bonds of peace inviolate » as if there was question not of the Church, but of the penitential discipline. This opinion is unlikely; according to it, Maxentius would be a laxist heretic, or at the least, a protector of the « lapsi » because he exiled the Pope, any mitigation in the discipline; one might ask, why he should have condemned Heraclius « extemplo » straightway, all of a sudden! »

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There are some, it is true, who pretend that the word « pariter » does not apply to Heraclius and Eusebius, but to Marcellinus and Eusebius. I shall not stop a moment to refute this opinion which does violence to the text; it might have some kind of likelihood, if we could read « exemplo (Marcellini) pariter pulsi: « at the exemple of Marcellinus were exiled » ; today it cannot any longer be sustained, since we must read « extemplo pariter pulsi... « and not « exemplo pariter pulsi ».

I beg leave to refer to De Rossi (1), whoevèr wishes to go deeper into this question.

Notice the word: (Veredicus Rector, the Ruler who tells the truth, who teaches the truth. How important! The Infallible teacher!! — The Roman Pontiff! The Pope!

The bishop of Vesceri, Optatus, was buried in the crypt of St. Eusebius; De Rossi thought that he was in the arcosolium of the middle, where there is a place for two marble caskets. The body of this bishop must have been transferred to Rome when Genseric invaded Mauritania.

Before proceeding in this gallery, let us go up to the first story for a moment; it opens half-way up the stairway (p. 86 Fig. 52 m m m.)

On the right side we see a rhythmic and acrostical inscription, appearing to be prior to the time of peace of the Church:

(1) Roma sotterr., Vol. II, pag. 203 and following.

T ENET AMICQRV*m* MEMORIA CARIT*atem*
H ONOREMQVE MIL*iti*AE PERFVNCTUS *obivit*
E IVS ENIM FIDES OSTENDIT CORNICVLORV*m*
O MNIBVS COMMILITONIBVS AMICISQVE F*idelis*
D EO GVBERNANTEM FAMA MAGIS QVAM PEC*unia*
V RBANAE PRAEFECTVRAE OFFICIVM EIVS INTE*gritatem*
L AVDES EIUS SI SUFFICEREM SEMPER
V T RATA SINT EI PROMISSA MVNERA LVCIS

Traslation:

This memorial retains (marks) the charity of his friends.

Having enjoyed the honors of the arms, he died.

His Faith shows the distinction of the corniculum. (which was a little horn worn as an honorable distinction on the soldier's nelmet).

He was true to his companion - in - arms and to his friends.

Fame more than money showed him governing for the interests of God.

He exercised his duty as urban prefect against suffering (to alleviate suffering).

Were I capable, I should sing his praises unceasingly.

That the gifts of « light » promised him, be ratified.

To the left in going up, we see an inscription which seems to have been made by a freedman or some ordinary person for his mistress, Cassia Faretria, « most noble, who has become his spouse ». According to the Roman law, the wife or the daughter of a senatorial family lost the title « clarissima » by marrying a man who was not a Senator. Many young Roman pagan girls preferred to be concubines, rather than to lose their title. But what was not praiseworthy

in general, became a necessity for the young Christian ladies of a senatorial order. It so happened, that noble young Christian ladies espoused freedmen and even slaves; this marriage was not recognized by the laws of the Empire, bnt it was blessed by the Church. There may be an example of this in the above inscription. A similar case perhaps is seen in the epitaph of Caecilianus and Petilia in the Grotto of St. Cecilia.

A tomb, still closed, near the floor, bears this beautiful inscription: (fig. 98).

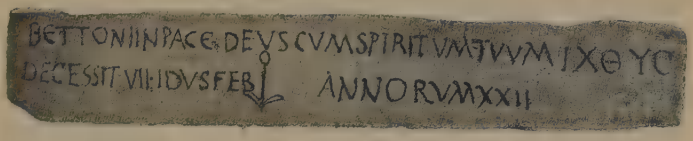

Fig. 98.

BETTONI IN PACE DEUS CUM SPIRITUM TVVM IXΘYC DECESSIT VII IDUS FEB.
ANNORUM XXII - « *O Bettonius, be in peace and may the Lord Jesus Christ* (ICTHUS) *be with thy spirit. He died on the ides of February, aged twenty-two years* ».

Literally: « That the Lord FISH be with thy spirit ». Notice that the words « in pace » refer to the body, and the rest to the soul We shall see the same expression in the inscription of deacon Severus.

*Cla*UDIANUS DULCISSIMAE FILIAE.
IULIA CLAUDIANE IN PACAE ET IRENE.

« In pace » (Latin for « in peace ») et « irene » (Greek, for « in peace ») refer possibly, the former to the body and the latter to the soul.

Here in this same region, this beantiful inscription in rustic Latin:

INDELECIA ISPIRITO TUO IN RENE.

« Endelechia may thy soul be in peace. »

In the representations of the celestial banquets, Irene and Agape personify the happiness of the elect in paradise.

In the other branch of the gallery there are important inscriptions.

A marble slab bears a triangular level; it closed perhaps a mason's tomb. On another there is a Roman balance; on another, a trident to which are attached two fishes, referring to Christ, as the trident does, perhaps, to the cross (fig. 99).

VICTORINANUS SERB *(us)* VIXT — ANNIS X — MENSES III DEES I.

DECESIT III IDUS MA *(ias)*. Victorinanus, Servant. He lived ten years, four month and... days. He died the 3rd of the Ides of May.

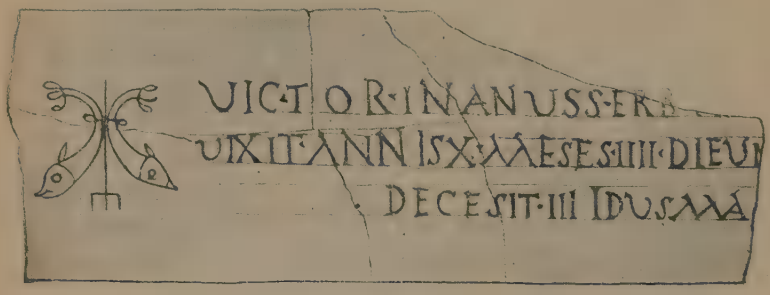

Fig. 99.

Turning to the right, you may lean over the open « matroneum » on the cript of St. Eusebius. Here, to the right, there is a painted arcosolium representing: to the left, Daniel in the act of sentencing the old men who wished to ruin Suzanna. The painting is of

the III century, and it was believed that it represented the judgment of one or two martyrs. De Rossi thought of Parthenius and Calocerus, and wanted to see a similar scene to the right: but Moses in seen there striking the rock. In the middle of the arch is the figure of the Good Shepherd, wearing a short tunic decorated with brown segments or discs as far as the knee, (baskin).

In the opposite chamber a sarcophagus of the III or IV century, of pagan style, was reconstructed, on the lid is a statue of the deceased, lyng on this left side, and holding a scroll in his hand. A peacock or a phoenix lying near him is an emblem of immortality. Following is the inscription on the front side of the sorcophagus:

DEP. PHOYBIANUS. V. IDUS. NOVEMBRES. Foubianus was deposited here the fifth of the Ides of November.

In the left branch of the gallery are three crypts with intact loculi. On one of the crypts is seen the « mensa oleorum », the table of oils; it is a broken piece of a column on which stood a vase of perfumed oils; this was formerly considered as a positive mark for the tombs of martyrs.

It is certain that these lamps and tables were found near the tombs of the most illustrious martyrs; but it is equally certain that they were also found in front of the tombs of Cristians who were not martyrs.

On the left wall are the fragments of sarcophagi; one is remarkable, because it shows an Orante between two trees i. e., the soul of the deceased in paradise. To the right of the Orante is a shepherd leaning on his staff with his resting flock (about him); to the left, is another pastoral scene in which one shepherd seems to

be milking a sheep, and another to be fondling with the surrounding lambs.

A little further on in the principal gallery, are other inscriptions, sometimes of a beautiful paleography, and closing their loculi. On one of them is seem the « crux gammata, (the gammated cross or the fourfold repetition of the Greek letter) and a dove flying towards a vase. On another we read:

..... US SILVESTER | *ka*LENDAS IULIAS
| *vixit* ANN XXX | *in* PACE ☧

Sylvester..... the Calends of July..... he lived thirty years...

« In the peace of Christ ».

The gallery branches out right and left. Two of these branches have a matroneum, allowing to look into the crypt below.

Let us redescend to the second story. In the gallery facing the stairway are two arcosolia with paintings. In one we see the Good Shepherd, with a caduceus, (unique subject in this kind), standing between two mile-stones, hardly visible at present, and two harts, apparently running to quench their thirst. In the second the three children in the furnace, on the one side, and the resurrection of Lazarus on the other, are painted on a red back-ground, just as many Pompeian paintings are. Behind Christ are two figures of persons. In the middle of the arch is an Orant, doubtless the deceased; her name was Margaret, which is painted on the front of the arcosolium. The painted harts are of the IV century, the rest of the second half of the III century.

Let us follow our way in the gallery of St. Eusebius. Here and there, affixed to the walls, are the inscriptions of illustrious families: of a VICTORIA C. F.

(most noble lady), . . and of PETRONIA AVXENTIA also most noble, for whom freedmen built this tomb. Christianism abolished in its epigraphic formulary the titles of freedmen and slaves; the rare mention of freed men is found only when they, in remembrance of the the past benefactions, and especially of their enfranchisement given them by their Christian patron at the moment of his death, took it upon themselves to build a tomb. This may be the case here:

PETRONIAE AVXENTIAE C. F. . . . LIBERTII BENEMERENTI FECERVNT IN PACE.

De Rossi thought that the noble Family of Petronia, of which the deceased was a member, had given the ground wherein the region of St. Eusebius is dug.

On other inscriptions are read the acclamations VIVES IN DEO and IN DEO PACE. A fragment represents the dove holding a torch in its claws and turning the flame towards the monogram

This symbol, to my knowledge, has never been explained by anybody, and if I were to give my interpretation, I should say, that there is question of a prudent virgin presenting herself to the divine Spouse. As a matter of fact, one painting, representing the parable of the Virgins, shows them precisely as holding a similar torch in their hands; and St. Damasus, in the inscription of his sister Irene, says:

NVNC VENIENTE DEO NOSTRI REMINISCERE VIRGO
VT TVA PER DOMINVM PRAESTET MIHI FACULA LVMEN.

When the Lord cometh, remember us O Virgin, that by life through the Lord thy torch grant me the light.

The following crypt (fig. 50, N.° 13), must have contained the bodies of Calocerus and Parthenius. It is reconstructed entirely, but on the entrance-wall, to the left, the hand of a pilgrim of the IV or V century, wrote:

PARTENIO MARTYRI-CALOCERO MARTIRI. To Parthenius Martyr, to Calocerus Martyr. In fact, the martyrologies place the sepultures in the cemetery of St. Callistus; and the pilgrims visited their tombs immediately after the tomb of St. Eusebius (Cfr. the Synoptical Table of the topographic documents, pp. 90 et 91).

Here, says De Rossi, we leave the area of St. Eusebius to enter that of St. Soter. The recent discoveries do not permit us any longer to give it this name: in future we shall call it, « the Western Region. » Entrance thereto is by the gallery marked AA (fig. 53), which is the continuation of gallery o o in fig. 52. We find immediately two chambers without anything remarkable. The following chambers, on the contrary, are very important; the left one is called Chamber of the Five Saints, (N.° 3), and the right one, the double chamber of Deacon Severus, (Nos. 4 and 5).

This chamber of the FIVE SAINTS was thus called at the time of De Rossi, because the principal wall, divided into two compartments, is wholly painted: in the superior compartment are seen five persons praying in the center of a garden, a symbol of paradise; their names are inscribed over their heads: DIONYSAS IN PACE - NEMESI IN PACE - PROCOPI IN PACE - ELIODORA IN PACE - ZOAE IN PACE. Then, on either side of the arcosolium, there is a peacock with the inscription ARCADIA IN PACE, above the left one. In the inferior compartment are two vases filled with water where birds are drinking, (fig. 100).

Now, some explanation. The Orantes do certainly represent the souls of the deceased. There is the same certainly in regard to the ORANTES of an arcosolium of the lateral way to the right BB; near this chamber, where a whole family is represented (fig. 53, N.° 8).

Fig. 100 — The representation of paradise (IIIrd cent.).

Furthermore, there is certainly question here of souls in paradise, which the formula « in pace », following each name, explains. This formula, so frequent in the III and IV centuries, may, it is true, indicate sometimes the rest for the body; but more often it wishes the soul of the deceased this peace which is synonymus with happiness, with paradise. When once the

soul is enjoying it, for whom does it pray? Not for itself, but for those who are not yet in paradise, for the surviving. It is here precisely that the surviving ask in the epitaps of these blessed souls; we have already seen other examples in this very cemetery. May be, these figures are simply the faithful who died in the communion of the Church: may be, they are the martyrs to whom this formula also is becoming, « in pace ». Does the Church not chant in the Office of the Martyrs: Iustorum animae in manu Dei sunt.... Visi sunt oculis insipientium mori; illi, autem, sunt in pace? " " The souls of the just are in the hand of God ... In the eyes of the fools they seemed to die, but they are « in peace » ? »

The same meaning is attached to the inferior compartment, where the idea of refreshment, so often used in the inscriptions, and indicated in the Acts of St. Perpetua, is expressed. This explains to us also why birds, drinking in or from a cup, are so often represented. It is possible that the chalice, especially when it bears the monogram of Christ, represents the eucharistic chalice: but these interpretations must not be abused, under penalty of falling into improbabilities.

The double chamber of Severus (fig. 51, Nos. 4 and 5) is lighted by a lucernarium, opened at the time of Pope Marcellinus. This might appear strange; for, Marcellinus lived under Diocletian; but we have as guaranty the inscription sculpted here over a latticed opening (window.) This is one of the most valuable documents of subterraneous ROME, because it attests the continuation in and of the administration by the Church, of this cemetery, begun by St. Callistus; then also because it has a great dogmatic value (fig. 101). Here is the text:

Fig. 101 — Inscription of the Deacon Severus.

CVBICVLVM DVPLEX CVM ARCISOLIIS ET LVMINARE
IVSSV *Papae* SVI MARCELLINI DIACONVS ISTE
SEVERVS FECIT MANSIONEM IN PACE QVIETAM
SIBI SVISQUE MEMOR QVO MEMBRA DVLCIA SOMNO
PER LONGVM TEMPVS FACTORI ET IVDICI SERVET
SEVERA DVLCIS PARENTIBVS ET FAMVLISQVE
REDDIDIT OCTAVVM FEBRVARIAS VIRGO KALENDAS
QVAM DOM*inu*S NASCI MIRA SAPIENTIA ET ARTE
IVSSERAT IN CARNEM QVOD CORPUS PACE QVIETVM
HIC EST SEPVLTVM DONEC RESVRGAT AB IPSO
QVIQVE ANIMAM RAPVIT SPIRITV SANCTO SVO
CASTAM PVDICAM ET INVIOLABILE*m* SEMPER
QVAMQVE ITERVM DOM*inu*S SPIRITALI GLORIA REDDET
QVAE VIXIT ANNOS NOVEM ET VNDECIM MENSES
QVINDECIM QVOQVE DIES SIC EST TRANSLATA DE SAECLO.

Translation.

« The double chamber with arcosolia and a luminare, by order of his pope, Marcellinus, this deacon Severus made, a quiet resting-place for himself and his relatives, mindful in what sleep it must keep these sweet members during a long (space of) time for his Creator and Judge.

Severa, dear to her parents and servants, as virgin rendered her soul on the eighth of the calends of February; (Severa) whom the Lord, in his admirable Wisdom and art, had ordered into the flesh. Which body, quiet in peace, is buried here until it rises in Him, Who has taken her soul chaste, modest and inviolable always, in His Holy Spirit aud which again the Lord will render in spiritual glory.

She lived nine years and eleven months and also fifteen days. Thus was she translated out of this world. »

In is astonishing that so little importance is attached to this inscription in the various manuals of Christian

archaeology. It suffices to say that it attests works executed here under Diocletian.

First of all, it is the first document in which the bishop of Rome is called « papae, pope ». Then, it is a solemn and public document of the teaching of the Church of Rome on the last things; for this inscription has as author the first deacon of this Church.

All this is very important if we consider the substance of the second part of the epigraph. The tomb is called a house of peace and of rest, which Severus made for himself and for his relatives, when thinking on death, that it keep for a long time, asleep in their sleep, the sweet members of Severus, unto his God, his Creator and Judge. These members (corpus) are buried here until the Lord raise them up again, the same Lord Who, by His Holy Spirit, has taken from them, the chaste, modest and always inviolable soul, and Who will return it to the body, adorned with spiritual glory.

Did we wish for a poetical exposition of death, judgment, resurrection, we should not know how to imagine any more charming than this poetry. True it is, the rules of prosody are hardly observed; but the spontaneous character, the classic perfume of the formulae, the ingenuity of the rhythm, make of it, notwithstanding its incorrections, a gem of funeral epigraphy.

We have seen that not only the " vivas in pace „ live in peace, but sleep in peace, dormis in pace,... in pace sommi, in the peace, of sleep,.... manet in pace, he or she rests in peace ", etc. are found. These formulae are completed by the foregoing inscrption: " cuius corpus in pace quietum hic est sepultum donec resurgat in Domino, whose body, resting (quiet) in peace, is buried here until it arises in the Lord ".

I have explained elsewhere ex professo, much about the dogmatical value of this inscription. Notice also that this Severa, dulcis parentibus famulisque, is a tender virgin of about ten years. We have here, without doubt, an example of a young maiden consecrated from her infancy to virginity by her parents; which happened frequently in the early Church; having become adult, she was not strictly bound to keep this promise; but if she died after this consecration, were it even on the morrow, she was given the title of "virgin". Hence we find epigraphs of virgins of six years, of four years, of one year, and even of several months. St. Jerome tells us that children were consecrated to virginity even before their birth. This title of virgin was a title of honor; we have met it several times.

In chamber No. 7 (fig. 53) there must have been a stairway, according to De Rossi.

In the passage BB, under an arcosolium, are four ORANTES of both sexes and of different ages (No. 8) They seem to have been, as the five ORANTES described before, from the same artist. This arcosolium is called "of the mask" because on its vault is painted a mask with two flower wreaths.

Chamber No. 9 is very large. A rude sarcophagus is in the arcosolium; on the left wall of the arch, the name of PATRICIVS is painted in red letters, which name is repeated in a local graffito...V...PATRICIVS IN PACE.

To the right of gallery BB are also two other chambers, Nos. 10 and 11, in which a fragment of inscription bears the consular mark of the year 300. *defun*CTVS EST Puer... qui vixit *a*NNOS. VI. DIES...

Kal. mai (?). AS DD NN CO*nstantio* et maximi*a*NO CAESS. III Conss.

Let us now sum up the different chronological indications. The quoted inscription, the paintings of the Five Saints and of the other ORANTES, belong to the III century; the double chamber of Severus is of the same epoch; this whole group therefore is prior to the IV century. It is probable that this region began at the stairway: but this stairway is doubtful. If it did not exist, the preceding part would be so much the more ancient, since it would be near the stairway of St. Eusebius. If it did exist and if it was the beginning of this region, the preceding part, notwithstanding all, possesses more antique features, either in its paintings which are of the III century, or because Pope Caius, the predecessor of Pope Marcellinus, was buried there.

The principal chronological indications of the cemetery of St. Eusebius are: The scarcity of the monogram ☧ the use of the name «gens» before the «cognomen» or the habit of putting two names: Aelius Saturninus, Cassia Gregorius, Γρεκίλια Εὐτυχία, (Grecilia Eutychia), Manilia Octavia, Cocceius Gregorus, Iulia Claudiana, etc.; the variety of the formulae and their dogmatic value; the relatively rare date and the word DEPOSITIO, KATAΘECIC, often fully written; the paleography sometimes very beautiful.

You would hardly believe how much the archeologists before Father Marchi and his illustrious disciple, have been mistaken, concerning the chronological indications of this region. Here is an example: having seen the paintings of the Five Saints, Marangoni was convinced that it was the cemetery of St. Praetextatus. He took away from this place and from the third story below,

over sixty inscriptions and imagined that an extraordinary great number of martyrs must lie buried here on account of the many glass vases which he discovered. These martyrs must have been of the Domitian epoch, because he found a coin of this Emperor on the plaster of a loculus.

Western Region.

The region which extends from here, in front and to the left (fig. 53, III, IV), was erroneously called the region of St. Soter, should have formed two different areae, of which the more important one had a stairway. (38). It certainly was visited by the pilgrims and enlarged; a trace of this enlarging may be seen in the irregularly reconstructed stairway. It could well be given the name of « region of the rotunds », for the reason that there are five round crypts with cupolae. The most beatiful is the one which numbered as 44; N. 43 is entirely filled in; N. 40 of the gallery PP is beautiful and important: there is a case of one cupola set against another, as in the Byzantine churches.

To visit it, you may take route marked GG; the name of BOSIO is several times written with charcoal on the walls. Crypt N. 23, is called the crypt of the « sheep », because, besides other interesting subjects, the Good Shepherd with His flock is painted in the arcosolium (fig. 102) and there are also other interesting paintings.

The Good Shepherd is the habitual type; He is carrying the sheep, or the soul, on His shoulders, and brings it to paradise, which, here as elsewhere, is figured by trees; the flock represents the elect; the two persons who are clad in sacred vestments (the tunic and the pallium) and who are quenching their thirst at two waterfalls, are representations of the celestial refreshment.

Mgr. Wilpert was the first to catch a glimpse of the meaning of this composition, after a patient study and numerous comparisons with similar monuments.

Fig. 102. — Representation of paradise (IVth. cent.).

The Good Shepherd, the trees, the flock are subjects as those found in this same cemetery; we know also the birds drinking; but what singles out this painting are the souls of the deceased admitted to eternal beatitude

and upon which refreshing waters are falling. We have seen the meaning of the formula « in pace » in the crypt of the Five Saints; it would be an easy matter to prove with the help of epigraphic monuments, that the place of peace is also the place of *light* (1).

Fig. 103 — The « rotonda » or anongmous region.

For the happiness of heaven is called in the epigraphs « munera, praemia lucis, the gifts, rewards of the light », and the CHRIST is « is the light of the dead, ΦΩC TO ΘANONTΩN; In the paintings and epigrahps these gift are called: « refreshment ». This expression precisely does the Church make use of in her liturgy: « Ipsis, Domine, et omnibus in Christo quiescentibus, locum refrigerii, lucis et pacis ut indulgeas deprecamur; To these, O

(1) Cfr. Wilpert, Di un ciclo, etc. p. 18; and my Notiones archaeol. christ., vol. II, pars 1).

Lord, and to all who rest in Christ, grant, we beseech Thee, a place of refreshment, of light, and of peace ».

The other subjects are: to the right, Moses unlacing his sandals and striking the rock; to the left, the multiplication of the loaves and fishes. Christ is seen between two Apostles, who present to Him, one, the loaves, the other, the fishes, over which He extends His hands. The loaves are marked with a cross, and fill several baskets placed at the feet of the Apostles. It is the symbol of the Eucharistic consecration; as noticed already, the cycle is generally represented by three subjects: Baptism, Eucharist, and Eternal Life. Unfortunately a small niche was dug here anciently for a place for a lamp or for a vase for oils; this has spoiled the painting very much.

This crypt was visited more than four hundred years ago, as is attested by the following charcoal inscriptions: An. d. MCCCCLXII hic fuit dms Abbs sci ermetis de Pisis cum Vii Sotiis religiosis S. dopn Bartolom Andreas Johs Onofri matteus petru sebastian.... A. D. 1462, Dom Abbot Sciermetis of Pisa was here with seven companions his religious: Doms Bartholomeus, Andrew, John, Onofrius, Matthew, Peter and Sebastian.

On the other side: 1490 HIC D RAYNUTIVS DE FARNESIO FVIT CVM SODALIBVS - 1490, Don Raynuntius of Farnesium was here with his companions - 1495 HIC HIERONYMVS MINVTOLVS...

Bosio had the frescoes copied by Toccafondo and left his mark on the wall of the arcosolium: 10. ANGELUS TOCCAFODVS PINXIT DIE 18 IVNII 1649. ANT . BOSIVS FECIT. Angelo Toccafondo painted. June 18th 1649. Ant. Bosio made (this).

By taking now the galleries G, H, E, (fig. 51), we

come to the stairway of which I have already spoken. The gallery PP is vast and magnificent, where de Rossi rocognized with reason a natural and continued development of the region of St. Eusebius. He had believed that St. Soter had been buried in chamber No. 39, which shows architectonic forms. In this region a group of inscriptions of the Flori and Flrorentii, a

Fig. 104 — Liberian region IV century.

noble family certainly of the IV century, unknown in the III, was found; this family had many relatives, as is testified to by the many inscriptions discovered in this cemetery by Marangoni (1). In rotund no. 40, there is a pagan epischograph inscription, serving as a title for a collegiate tomb. On the reverse we read: EVTYCHIORVM (sepulchrum), the tomb of the Eutychii; it is not the name of the dead; it is rather the pa-

(1) Acta S. Victorini, pp. 109-110.

tronymic name of him who gave either the ground or the right for burial; consequently, all those who profited of this kindness took in common the name of the donor. So also we find the titles of SYNCRATIORVM, GAVDENTIORVM, EVSEBIORVM, EVTROPIORUM, etc. (The servants, freedman, etc., of Sycratius, Gaudentius, Eusebius. Eutropius). The Syncratii took their name from a certain Syncratius, *quibus loca donavit*, as the inscription reads (1).

Liberian region.

We may pass from here directly to another region, called the « Liberian », because three inscriptions of the period of Pope Liberius were found therein. We shall return to the *AA* gallary, to take the route EE; we find there an arcosolium No. 19, painted entirely, where the Epiphany is represented. The three Magi are dressed after the Oriental fashion and offer their gifts to the infant Jesus who is on the knees of His mother; the painting is of the IV century. On the wall of the opposite arch, is the multiplication of the loaves, hardly visible. Bosio wrote his name on the lunette of the arcosolium. On the outside to the right, we see the resurrection of Lazarus.

Facing this arcosolium is a series of four chambers (20, 21). Three are lighted by the one lucernarium. At the bottom of the gallery is chamber no. 22, with elegant architectonic forms sculptured in the tufa. Here, as also elsewhere, the members of that Academy of humanists and antiquarians gathered, who had as chief Pomponius Laetus, so diversely judged now as

(1) Cfr. my Notiones Archaeolog. christ., vol. I, pars I,[a] p. 292-312.

he was in his own days. He was called *pontifex maximus, supreme pontiff;* in this chamber, we find written after the names of Acadamicians :

REG. POMP. PONT. MAX.

For « *regnante Pomponio Pontifice Maximo* »
« *During the reign of Pomponius, the supreme Pontiff* ».

In another near-by cubiculum are found again the name of *Pomponius Pontifex Maximus* and the name of PANTAGATHVS SACER|DOS ACHADEMIAE · ROM*anae*, « Pantagathus Priest of the Roman Academy ».

Gallery B, running northwardly, leads directly to the principal artery of the Liberian region (fig. 104, XII). « This region, writes De Rossi, was dug on so grand a plan, that it surpasses every other part of the cemetery of Callistus. The principal road A, at its beginning, is doubly as wide as the other ordinary cemeterial galleries This width dates back to the origin and is in harmony with the proportions of the lateral chambers. These had been built according to a new and grand architectonic form and receive their light from enormous lucernaria; then, they form a continuous series, as do the arcosolia in the principal avenues A, B, C. In brief, the subterraneous architecture has here arrived at the height of its free development » (1).

An inscription of the year A. D. 362, was engraved on an entrance step, entirely destroyed at present. Here it is:

(1) Roma sotterr., t. III, p. 230.

MIRAE BONITATIS SECVNDAE || QVAE VIXIT PVRA FIDE ANNOS || VIGINTI PUDICA CESSAVIT || In PACE ID VIRGO FIDELIS || BENEMERENTI QVIESCET ID IVL PALVMBO SINE FELLE *Mamertino* ET *Nevitta* ».

« *To the most deserving Secunda guileless dove, virgin of admirable kindness, who lived pure in the faith twenty years, died in peace on the ides of July, under the consulate of Mamertinus and Nevitta* ».

This is a curious inscription. It should be « PALVMBAE » and not PALVMBO, since there is question of a young girl. But elsewhere the soul of a deceased man is represented by a female Orante. We shall take up this matter again.

Near the stairway is Chamber no. 4 dug at some distance from the way, because not far from that point, they destroyed a gallery, to put there a descent to the third story. De Rossi thought he could place here the small chapel with balustrade which Boldetti saw and then described in his *Observations* (1), because he discovered there fragments of a marble balustrade and because the crypt corresponds partialy with the description given by Boldetti; but De Rossi was mistaken; we shall find this chapel in a region of the cemetery of Ss. Mark and Marcellian, further to the north.

Here though a meagre but valuable fragment of poetry was found which Damasus composed in memory of the deacon Redemptus, which also has been transmitted to us in the Palatine manuscript, edited lately by Gruter:

(1) Observ., p. 34-35.

STRINGE DOLOR LACRIMAS QVAERIS P(*lebs sancta*) REDEM-
[PTVM
LEVITAM SVBITO RAPVIT SIBI REGIA (*caeli*)
DVLCIA NECTAREO PROMEBAT MEL(*la canore*)
PROPHETAM CELEBRANS PLACIDO M(*odulam*)INE SENEM
HAEC FVIT INSONTIS VITA LAVDATA (*iuve*)NTVS
INVIDIA INFELIX TANDEM COMPRESSA QVIESCIT
NVNC PARADISVS HABET SVMPSIT QUI EX HOSTE TROPAEA.

« O Sufferer, repress thy tears! you holy people seekest Redemptus. The heavenly court has suddenly seized the levite. He produced sweet honey by his nectarian chant, singing the old prophet in a peasable chant. This was the lauded life of an innocent youth, Miserable jealousy repressed finally rests. Now Paradise holds (him) who snatched trophies from the enemy.

The letters between parenthesis are those of the fragment.

This poetry has the same characters as the other epigraphs of the poet-pontiff; the second verse corresponds to the third in the inscription of the Papal chapel; verses 3 and 4 recall to memory the inscription of Bishop Leo engraved in rude characters, in which we read:

PSALLERE ET IN POPVLIS VOLVI MODVLANTE PROPHETA
SIC MERVI PLEBEM CHRISTI RETINERE SACERDOS.

« I have thought also of singing among the people the modulations of the prophet, and thus I, the Priest, have earned to govern the people of Christ ».

The 6th verse is found entirely in both pieces of poetry, and causes a doubt, whether two persons have not been martyrs, or at least whether, these for having fought the ancient Arian heresy, they may have merited the title of martyrs for the faith. This and other inscriptions

inform us that the first deacon was at the same time the chanter or rather the director of the choir; an important employ, since it consisted in modulating the psalms and the canticles of scripture, as the quoted verses attest.

Here an inscription was affixed, bearing the consular date of A. D. 363: it is the IVth consulate of Julian, who became Emperor and apostatized.

To the left, on a slab of peperine, (a volcanic stone), a funeral oration was recomposed, having been engraued in lieu of an epitaph on a large and thin marble slab. It seems that the deceased person, (either a young man or a young lady of 17 years), was very dear to the orator. It is the composilion of a rhetor and is of little interest. The last sentences though have a real value, because they are periphrases of ancient formulae; the last is important: . . . . « PRESTES IN ORATIONIBVS TVIS VT (Deus) POSSIT AMARTIAS MEAS IND*ul*GERE TE IN PACAE »... According to the sex of the deceassed De Rossi proposes to read them in the following way, after completing them in the translation: « If I have been dear to you in this world », or: « You who are now dear to God, ask your Lord that I may not be unworthy of Him; let us pray together that God . . . . . ; and, in the name of the love which you bear to me », obtain that through your prayers the Lord may forgive me my sins. (Amartia, a greek word for the Latin, « peccata » sins. « I hope that you are in peace. »

The verbous style of this inscription belongs to the time of the peace of the Church; it is in perfect harmony with the other chronological data of this region.

The arcosolium of the right wall was decorated with paintings which have nearly disappeared nowadays. So

it is also with other arcosolia. Notice the paintings of arcosolium n. 9, in the lunette of which is depicted the scene of the judgment of the soul. The seated Christ is about to speak; He has the nimbus, and looks very young. In front and back of Him are two saints in the role of advocates; the one in front alone is making an oratorical gesture. The soul is represented under the arch, to the right and to the left, in the attitude of prayer, i. e. as being already in peace. Some will indeed find this explanation, due to Mgr. Wilpert, rather strange; still this is the only one in harmony with other analagous monuments which cannot be explained in any other way. In the center, under the arch and in a medallion is *Christ* with a beard and a nimbus.

Further on, to the left, is chamber n. 11, called the chamber of Adam and Eve, bacause our first parents are painted on the wall to the left. By digging more recent loculi, this painting was mutilated; only flowers and a bird between the two persons may be seen in the lower part. This painting belongs to the second half of the IV century. This subject is reproduced several times in the other catacombs, and mention of it is made in the epitaphs.

Thus the parents of a young girl buried in the cemetery of St. Priscilla, wrote ou her tomb: « Taken from earth, o Adam, you must be returned to earth. So also. Agape, our daughter, lies here, because Christ wished it thus. » Same allusion in the liturgical prayers, wherein the human misery aud weakness are alleged, in order to obtain eternal salvation from divine mercy.

The inscriptions and the paintings of this region indicate, then, a same epoch; this testimony is corroborated by the numerous arcosolia and architectonic

forms, which belong to the second half of the IV century.

In one of the chambers of gallery BB, is an inscription which deserves a moment's examination (fig. 105). First of all, the major part is in sixteen pieces; De Rossi, believing it to be whole, tried to reconstrct it, to patch it together; he recognized therein a mention of St. Soter. As the fourth line ended with « AT DOMN » and the fifth line began with ITA, and the inscription had been found near the region of St. Soter, he conjectured that the words: " ad domnam Soteritam," should be supplemented. De Rossi himself relates this fact, in oder to show how careful one must be in completing an inscription. After the remaining part was found, the name CAIUM was discovered in the last line, and it was reconized that the date had been inserted by mistake between the fourth and the fifth lines of the epigraph. The formula indicates assuredly the tomb of Pope Caius. Other examples are found, indicating, now famous martyrs and now pontiffs. But in our epitaph there is another important formula, the topographical indication of the cemetery of St. Callistus: IN CALLISTI.

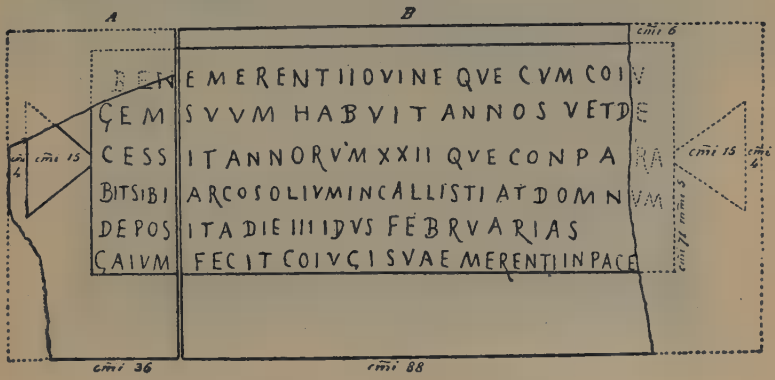

Fig. 105 — Taken from the « Bull. d'Arch. crist. 1907 ».

« BENEMERENTI IOVINE QVE CVM CO(N)VGEM SVVM HABVIT ANNOS V ET DECESSIT ANMORUM XXII QVE COMPARABIT SIBI ARCOSOLIVM IN CALLISTI AT DOMNVM CAIVM DEPOSITA DIE III IDVS FEBRVARIAS FECIT CO(N)IVGI SVAE

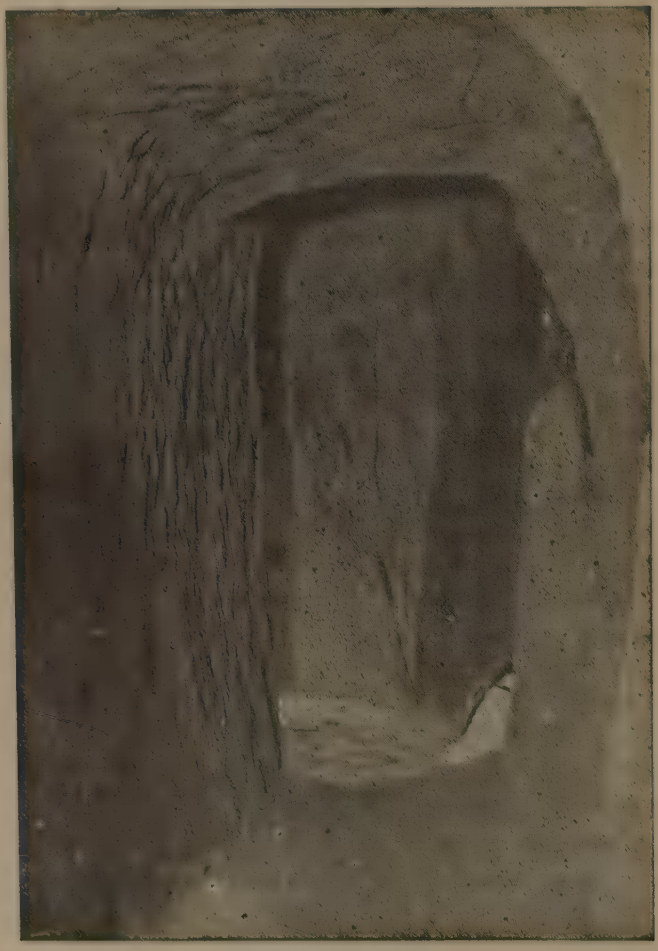

Fig. 106 — Arenarium of St. Hippolytus?

MERENTI IN PACE. To the very deserving young lady who lived five years with her husband and died at the age of 22, who bought the arcosolium in Callistus near the house. She was buried on the 3rd day of the Ides of February. Caius made this for his well-deserving sponse. Be in peace."

At the entrance of the chamber of deacon Redemptus is a large gallery transformed into a stairway leading to the third story; thence, by a broken arcosolium we pass into an immense arenarium. Fig. 106 represents an ambulacrum of this arenarium.

The region of Liberius bounds the North of the cemetery of St. Callistus properly so called. Another region developed to the South of the Liberian region without uniting with it: it is the region of Ss. Mark

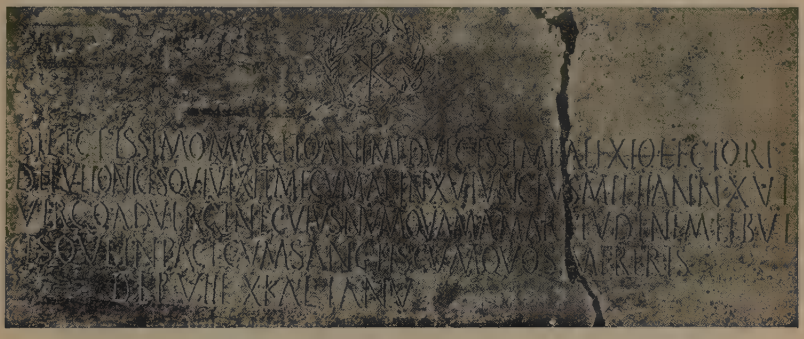

Fig. 107 — (WILPERT, *Beiträge zur christ. Archäol.*, 1908).

and Marcellian, which touches the cemetery of St. Damasus. The excavations undertaken these last five years by the Reverend Trappist Fathers, under the direction of Mgr. Wilpert and the supervision of the Sacred Archaeological Commission, have established beyond any doubt, that the above-named cemeteries

of the Saints are situated, not to the right, but to the left of the Ardeatine Way. An important fragment of the inscription by Pope Damasus for his mother, and the imprint of this same inscription on the plaster of a cippus, definitely establish the position of these cemeteries, which, even before the excavations, had determined the sagacious finder, Mgr. Wilpert. To these monuments must be added the topographical docoments, which indicate the basilica of St. Damasus, immediately in front or behind the church of St. Petronilla, or which confound these two cemetries with the cemetery of Ss. Mark and Balbina, being really in the neighborhood. The age of the cemetery agrees with the time of Damasus, and the epitaph found there, goes to prove that the engraver had before his eyes the poetry of the sister of St. Damasus, of which he imitated several formulae.

This region is rich in inscriptions and in sarcophagi of the greatest interest; I shall quote only a few examples, because it would require a volume to illustrate it; besides, this will become the subject for another volume of the Roma sotterranea, which Mgr. Wilpert is preparing:

« To my very dear husband, very sweet soul, Alexius, lector of the title of Fullonica, who lived with me 15 years, united with me since the age of 16, he a virgin to me a virgin, and who has never caused me any bitterness. Rest in peace with the saints (Fig. 107).

... QVE VIXIT *annos... depos*ITA EST... [ad?] *mar*TIRES (fig. 108)

One inscription recalls Baptism: BENE . MERENTI . ANTONI . AE CYRIACETI . QVAE VIXT ANNIS . XVIIII M . II . D . XXVI ACCEPTA DEI GRATIA QUARTA DIE VIRGO . OBIT . IVLIUS . BENEDICTVS PATER . FILIAE DULCISSIMAE ET

INCOMPARABILI . POSVIT D . XII . KAL DEC. The very deserving Antonia Ciriaces, who lived 19 years, 2 months, 26 days. She died a virgin four davs after receiving baptism. The father, Benedictus to his very sweet ad incomparable daughter, has placed (this) on the twelfth day of the Calends of December ».

Another inscription gives as date the ponti ficate of Julius: SVB IVLIO AN*tistite;* this is the oldest example of such a date.

Fig. 108 — (WILPERT, *Beiteäge zur christ. Archäol.*, 1908).

Here was discovered the inscription of Theodulus (fig. 39, p.); it is so important, since it illustrates and corroborates all that I have said about the judgment of the soul, from the studies of my learned master Mgr Wilpert.

Here also was found the following inscripition presenting the soul of the deceased person in the figure of a woman, but telling us that it is a man. The soul is represented between two trees, i . e . in paradise.

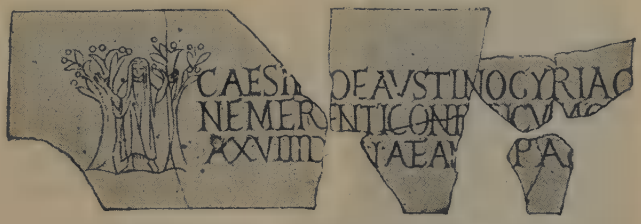

Fig. 109 — The soul represented in paradise.

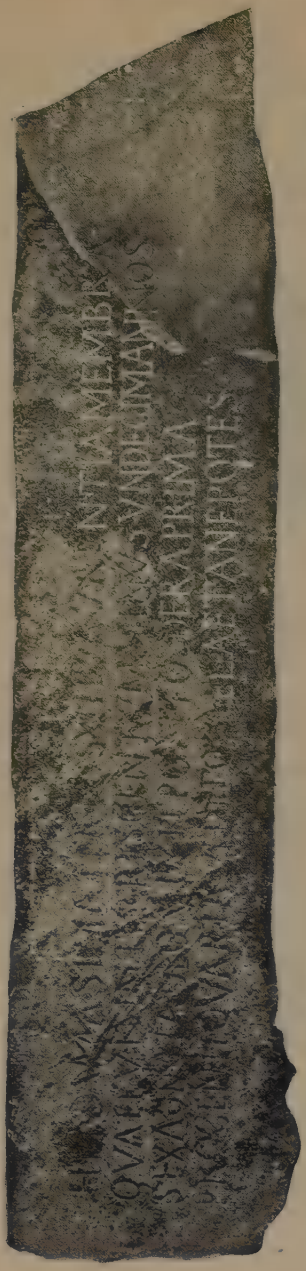

Fig. 110 — Imprint of the inscription of the mother of Pope Damasus.

There is a certain flavour of antiquity in several inscriptions which show Christ, as being the rest of the soul, though they hardly date back to the beginning of the IV century. The name of Christ is there indicated by the monogram, thus: « I ☧ N in Christo ».

Only a piece of the inscription of the mother of Damasus has been found; but we can restore the part printed on the cippus of which I have already spoken, as in fig. 110.

In this crypt where the cippus is, we find also a fragment of the poetry composed by St. Damasus for his sister Irene. This fragment was discovered by Professor Marucchi in the excavations of the Forum. The epigraphists are divided into two camps con-

cerning its interpretation. I have spoken of it in another of my works, to which I beg leave to refer the reader (1).

Here is the text of the inscription:

HOC TVMVLO SACRATA DEO NVNC MEMBRA QVIESCVNT
HIC SOROR EST DAMASI NOMEN SI QVAERIS IRENE
VOVERAT HAEC SESE CHRISTO CUM VITA MANERET
VIRGINIS VT MERITVM SANCTVS PVDOR IPSE PROBARET
BIS DENAS HIEMES NECDVM COMPLEVERAT AETAS
EGREGIOS MORES VITAE PRAECESSERAT AETAS
PROPOSITVM MENTIS PIETAS VENERANDA PVELLAE
MAGNIFICOS FRVCTVS DEDERAT MELIORIBUS ANNIS
TE GERMANA SOROR NOSTRI TVNC TESTIS AMORIS
CVM FUGERET MVNDVM DEDERAT MIHI PIGNUS HONESTUM
QUAM SIBI CVM RAPERET MELIOR TVNC REGIA CAELI
NON TIMVI MORTEM CAELOS QVOD LIBERA ADIRET
SED DOLVI FATEOR CONSORTIA PERDERE VITAE
NUNC VENIENTE DEO NOSTRI REMINISCERE VIRGO
UT TUA PER DOMINVM PRAESTET MIHI FACULA LUMEN.

Translation: In this tomb repose the members consacrated to God. Here is the sister of Damasus; if you ask her name, it is Irene. She consecrated herself to Christ as long as life would last, that holy modesty herself should prove the merit of the virgin. Age had not yet filled twice ten winters. Age of life had preceded excellent habits (morals). The intention of her mind, (plan of life) was the respectable piety of this young lady. She had given (shown forth) fruits magnificent for better years. Thou, Our sister of the same parents, then a witness of our love, when it fled the world, had given me an honest pledge, whom, when

(1) Consult my work « Notiones archaeol. christ., vol. II, pars 1ª).

the better court of heaven had taken unto itself, I have not feared death, because free, it would lead me to heaven. But, I avow, I regretted to lose the companionship of life. Now at the coming of God, remember us O virgin, that by life through the Lord thy torch give me the Light ».

The crypt of which I am speaking, and which Mgr. Wilpert thinks is the CRVTA DAMASI indicated by an inscription found formerly, is a very nice tomb; the arcosolium is decorated with a painting representing Christ surrounded by His Apostles, and adorned on both sides with two niches covered with marble on which are frescoed peacocks; the lateral walls have two large square niches, where two sarcophagi with historical subjects were replaced.

The crypt (fig. 111), called crypt of SS. Mark and Marcellian, must have been wholly resplendent with marble of various kinds; in its four corners were columns with facets, notable parts of which still remain; the vaulted arch has cross-bars. In the lateral walls are two arcosolia; in the back is a large niche, the floor of which is raised by enormous white marble blocks. The left arcosolium is ornamented with paintings almost utterly destroyed by the crumbling of the tufa; they represented the multiplication of the loaves, other customary subjects of the Bible, and two holy persons, probably the martyrs buried here, between whom is a woman of smaller proportions, the donoress of the tomb. The lower arch presents to the left an entirely new subject, reproduced a second time (maybe on account of symmetry, but rather by taste or intentionally) on the opposite side where the stucco is destroyed. It is some person scaling a ladder and putting his foot on a spiral object, apparently a serpent.

Behind him we might notice the slope of a mountain, whence shoot forth big ears of corn. The painter was certainly inspired by the vision of St. Perpetua, in

Fig. 111 — (Nuovo Bull. d'Arch. crist., 1904).

which the martyr saw a ladder reaching heaven, and, to climb it, she puts her foot on the head of the infernal dragon. In the center, under the arch, there was a bust of Christ, in a medallion, towards Whom

the ladder seems to have been directed. To the right of the arcosolium a chamber « retro sanctos » was dug.

There are other paintings in this region which extends under the monastery. Observe that of the Saviour and of the four Evangelists. Here for the first time the nimbus is seen, in the paintings of the catacombs, for the crypt is about the year A. D. 340. St. Matthew points to the star; the other Evangelists show nothing particular, but we know that after Matthew follow by order: Mark, Luke and John; the two last seem to be beardless. The Saviour is sitting on a throne; on both sides of the nimbus is the monogram ☧.

There is another scene of the twelve Apostles and a scene of two deer drinking at a rock. Besides these two mentioned sarcophagi, there are others still in place; one of these is most beautiful: it is reckoned as being of the first rank among the known sarcophagi, on account of the purity of the work, of the vigor in the lineaments of the persons, of the delicacy of the profiles, especially of the profiles of Christ.

At the beginning, two stairways used to enter this cemetery, and each leads to a different level. From the lower level you may go down to the fifth story, where water is found. There also is a well, which must have furnished, in the II century, the great baths of the pagan villa, of which I have spoken already (p. 78).

This villa has been entirely demolished, perhaps during one of furious persecutions and for the reason that the propietors, becoming Christians, had given it to the Church. After the Edict of Milan two oratories were built amongst these ruins and became the center of a cemetery above ground. The superior level has

another story dug in a harder but sandy rock; Mgr. Wilpert recognized there that marble grating described by Boldetti, and which De Rossi thought he had found again in pieces in the crypt of deacon Redemptus. It still closes the tomb hidden for a long time, and in the superior party of it are seen the three monograms indicated by Boldetti.

CEMETERY OF SAINTS MARK AND BALBINA

From this point, a cemeterial and most complicated region, with entrance on the Ardeatine Way, extends towards the chapel « Quovadis ». This entrance was monumental; in the walls, arcosolia covered with finest stucco, were dug. It certainly is the cemetery of Mark and Balbina. It is large, has several stories, and might be divided into two parts: one, extending towards the chapel « Quo vadis » would be the cemetery founded by Pope Mark; the other might be the cemetery of Basileus, named in the Itineraries.

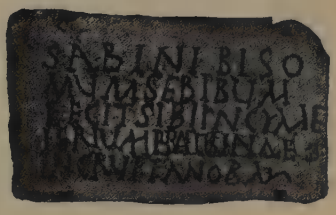

Fig. 112 — Inscription found next to the church « Quo-Vadis ».

« SABINI BISOMUM SE BIBVM FECIT SIBI IN CYMETERIVM BALBINAE IN CRYPTA NOBA. Sabinus duringhis life made for himself a bisomum in the cemetery of Balbina in the new crypt ».

However that may be, the cemetery of Ss. Mark and Balbina need not be looked for elsewhere; for it is placed between the Appian and the Ardeatine Ways and one of the inscriptions mentioning it was discovered « near the little chapel called: Domine, quo va-

dis, » juyta aediculam quae dicitur Domine quo vadis, « near the little building which is called, Lord, where goest Thou ». (Note 69, Vignoli, De columna, 1705, p. 271). Here is the inscription:

FELIX FAUSTINIAN
VS EMIT SIBI ET VX
ORI SVAE FELICITA
TI [*a*] FELICE FOSORE
IN BALBINIS BASILI
CA LOCVM SVB TE
GLATA SE VIBVM

« *Felix Faustinianus during his life, from the grave-digger Felix, for himself and his wife felicitas, a covered place in the basilica of Balbina* ».

I shall not delay in this cemetery all caved in. Suffice it to say, to give some idea of its large extent and grand forms, that De Rossi stood stupified, and that neither he nor his brother had the courage to undertake work of excavations and of study there, « The subterraneous place is spacious, dug at several levels, adorned with numerous and vast crypts, formerly lighted by lucernaria. The development of the architectonic forms has attained a height never before seen in any of the underground cemeteries of Rome. In fact, I have admired an immense lucernarium, not quadrangular but nearly hexagonal, the funnel of which opens in eight radii over the hypogeum: to wit: in two oblique vaults going down to two vast chambers which present an oblong square, and end in absidal form; in two ambulacra crossing at right angles with the two chambers to which they give access; and in four slanting ventiduts, narrow and long, made in the four corners, and opening I think, into as many chambers. That is the grandest, most regular, and best arranged group of underground crypts which have been discovered as yet in the Roman catacombs (1).

(1) De Rossi, Bull. d'Archeol. chret., 1887, p. 3.

It is easy to understand why this cemetery extends south-easterly to the monastery of the Trappists, where also the galleries of the cemetery of St. Soter end;

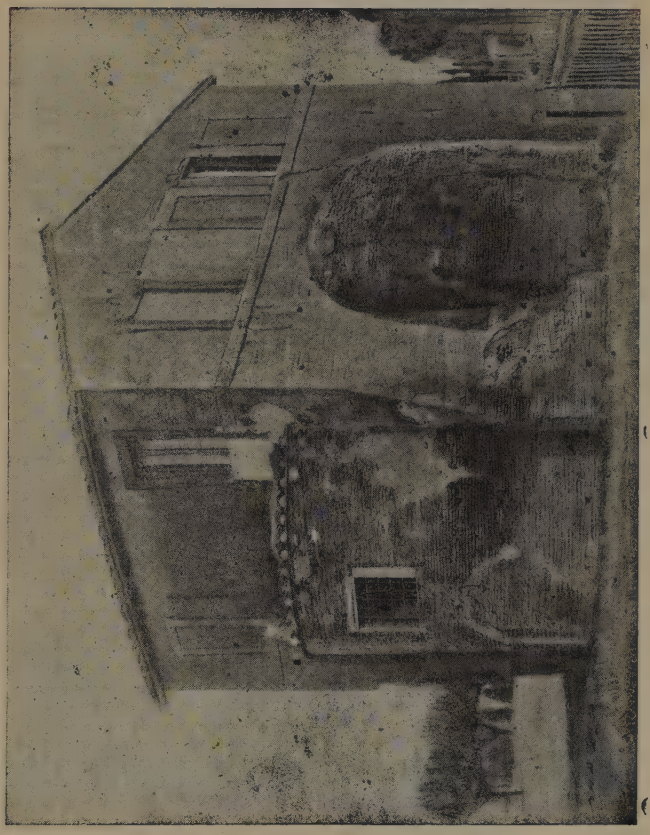

Fig. 113 — Ancient Christian sanctuary of the III.rd century turned into a farm house.

and northward, as far as the « Quo vadis » where the ruins of the basilica of St. Balbina are recognized. Constantine the Great, as we have seen, gave the Pope a piece of ground called « fundus rosarius », the field of roses », and added thereto the surrounding pieces

of ground. The basilica which was built there, was used as a tomb for Popo Mark.

Cemetery of saint soter and Arenarium of saint Hippolytus.

The cemethery or region of St. Soter is north of the tomb of St. Cornelius; we read, indeed, in the Synoptical Table of the topographical Documents, that the pilgrims directed ther steps « ad aquilonem to the north », in order to go from the basilica of this Pope to the sanctuary of this martyr. Then to go to the cemetery of Mark and Balbina, they left the Appian Way: « Et dimittis viam Appiam ». But nothing may be said of this region, because its direction alone is known relatively to the basilica of St. Cornelius.

Now, what shall we say about the Arenarium of St. Hippotytus? There are several arenaria (sand-pits) in the neighborhood and under the cemetery; they are immense quarries branching out in every direction and being in communication with the catacombs since very olden times. All that, the uncertainty of the topographical indications, dispense me from speaking of this arenarium. Let us rather busy ourselves with what was believed to be, until these last years, the basilica of St. Soter.

In the Römiche Quartalschrift (1904), (a Roman quarterly review), a German Doctor pretended to have solved an important topographical problem, i. e. to have discovered the true basilica of St. Cornelius. One will believe perhaps that he had made more complete and successful excavations than De Rossi had done. But no. By studying the Itineraries, this Doctor discovered that the basilica of St. Cornelius was that

Fig. 114 — Ancient christian cemetery of the III century turned into a farm house or barn.

which De Rossi had taken for the basilica of St. Soter, situated about 600 feet from the tomb of the pontiff,

Fig. 115 — Riconstruction of the sanctuary as in fig. 113 and 114.

and directly opposite the place where it should have been.

When Mgr Wilpert established the new topography of the areae which surround the cemetery of St.

Calistus, he thought he could call this sanctuary the basilica of Zepherinus; now, the recent discovery of a tomb for two persons (fig. 116), just in the center of the sanctuary, which tomb must have been the object of a special veneration, (for traces of the « fenestella confessionis, the little windon of the confession are found there), seems to confirm the opinion of the savant. Indeed we know that the pope who founded this cemetery of the Popes, reposed there in the VII century, with the martyr of the Eucharist.

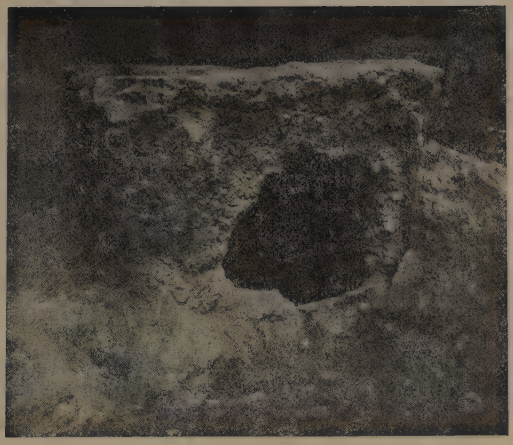

Fig. 116 — Sepulchre of two martyrs an the centre of the sanctuary.

Professor Marucchi does not share this opinion, because it is in contradiction with the Itineraries, and because the basilica is not on the Appian, but on the Ardeatine Way. The second reason is a good one; but not so the first reason; for, it is upon the authority of the Itineraries that it was called the basilica of St. Soter, of St. Damasus, of SS. Mark and

Marcellian, and even of St. Callistus, and that so many errors have been made. One could have thought also that the basilica was on the Appian Way because its front is turned this way, and that it is at a certain distance from the Ardeatine Way.

Such is the question being debated by the two celebrated archaelogist; it is yet too complicated and too little searched into to be capable of solution.

See, fig. 113, 114, and 115, two views of the ancient sanctuary changed in the Middle Ages into a farmer's house or barn and restored lately by the Trappist Fathers, from a design of Mr. Palombi, engineer of the Commission of Sacred Archaeology.

Crypt of Saint Lucina and tomb of Saint Cornelius.

The oldest region of the cemetery of St. Callistus, and, for that, of all the cemeteries on the Appian Way, is the one which, following tradition, we call the crypt of St, Lucina (p. 84 fig. 50). It was founded in a geometrically definite « area », with one side resting on the Appian Way, and in the center a mausoleum built in zones (X). From the inscriptions found on the ground and in the cemeterial galleries and relating to the members of the noble family « Pomponia », it was believed that it was their property. Now the ancient Lucina, a disciple of St. Paul to whom she gave burial, was exactly a « Pomponia » of the branch of the Graecini; a person by this name was buried in this cemetery with the Pomponii Bassi. Howsoever that may be, the region which we are going to describe is very ancient.

The very high galleries suppose three different epochs: the original ambulacrum must have been dug twice. Indeed, in the higher part we find the table-

tombs (a mensa), and openings of small passages which were arrived at by walking on the old ground at this same height. At the same level there are also chambers with much older paintings than those in the lower chambers. The same remark holds good for the other chronological data.

In order to enter the crypt of Lucina, we may pass through the labyrinth or though the very old region which connects them with the center of the cemetery of St. Callistus. There is, by the way, an engraved marble, unique in Christian art, and of easy interpretation: The *Orante* between two sheep. It cannot be any other thing than the figure of the deceased « inter sanctos », amongst the saints. Then the inscriptions, especially those in the gallery of the third story *bb*, bear simple (single) names; so, SISTRATON, URBICA, ECΠEPOC, FAVSTINIANUM; with this last name are the united symbols of the anchor changed into a cross under which the divine Lamb and the dove are resting. On the marble of Urbica, the anchor and the dove near a tree are designed; it is the « hope » in Christ, the pledge of eternal life. Another inscription, still in its place, reads:

ΦΗΛΕΙΚΛΑ ΕΙΡΗΝΗ COI ΕΝ Κω Κυρίῳ
« O Phelicla, peace to thee in Christ the Lord! »

Another inscription has a Greek cross under the names ΡΟΥΦΙΝΑ ΕΙΡΗΝΗ, Rufina, Peace.

Another inscription is found, made by a freedman, Secundus, to his worthy mistress Marcia Rufina. Another represents the deceased VALERIUS PARDVS, who was a gardener, carrying lettuce and a sicle.

The galleries epening on the right side of the am-

bulacrum (fig. 50) and numbered, put this ramified and extended arenarium on a level with the catacombal net-work. De Rossi thought it was the famous arenarium of Hippolytus; after some excavating, he was able to go down into it and to reconnoiter as far as the fourth story of the ambulacra. Vain were the efforts to render the access practicable and to discover there any souvenir of the martyr and of his companions; every stroke with the mattock caused irreparable ruins, and exposed the diggers to the danger of being buried in the cavings; fortunately this dangerous work was abandoned before the stairway fell down. In (fig. 50), this stairway is marked at the end of ambulacrum U.U.

In this gallery, De Rossi found a very simple loculus, closed with bricks; it contained the remains of a young girl, whose purple clothes had gold-tissue. This proves, that those who were deposited in simple loculi closed with bricks were not always persons of the lower classes.

Now let us take the old stairway A, narrowed by St. Damasus between two walls, and let us go up to chambers X. Y. They date back to the II century of which they show paintings. In the first chamber we see the baptism of Christ; it is the oldest remaining representation of this subject.

On the wall near the entrance are painted the trunk of a tree with a breaking branch, and, near it, two birds: these represent the souls in paradise. This trunk may have another meaning: for the same scene is reproduced in chamber Y, with this difference, though, that sheep take the place of birds, and that the trunk, cut horizontally as the first one, bears the eucharistic vase and is used as an altar.

Paintings, really of Pompeian style, cover the ceiling of the second chamber. In the four corners, two, figures of the Good Shepherd alternate with those of two Orantes; one of the latter seems raptured in ecstacy. It would be difficult to find, even amongst the classic paintings, a more expressive figure than the one just metioned, although it was traced rapidly by the brush of the artist. The elevation of the figure reminds us of the Church called, « virgin-mother,... spouse of Christ » by the ancient writers and the Fathers; or it reminds us of the Virgin Mary. Yet to-day archaeologists of the school of De Rossi defend this last opinion; but it is not necessary to change here the meaning of the Orante without indication; this change would have brought on a confusion in the ideas of the faithful who witnessed so frequently this figure near the figure of the Good Shepherd, or alone, to represent the soul of the deceased.

We owe this unity of interpretation to the patient investigations of Mgr. Wilpert. The contrary examples are unfrequent, tardy, and unseen on the tombs.

In the center there is a painting of Daniel in the midst of the lions; it is very much effaced here. The left wall is made over entirely; there must have been a scene of Jonas, having its counterpart on the right wall, where Jonas is seen resting under the gourd. The nature of the plant which over-shadowed the prophet, was, as we know, the object of an acrimonius controversy betweeu St. Augustine and St. Jerome, because the latter, in his correction of the biblical text, had changed into *ivy* the cucurbitaceous plant. They appealed wrongly to the paintings of the catacombs. On the contrary, even after the Vulgate became of current use,

the paintings continued to represent a bower with pumpkins or cucumbers.

The most important subject of these paintings is the fish repeated twice on the opposite wall; the fish is beside the basket of loaves with the vase full of wine. All those to whom I have shown this painting, were surprised, because the black representations do not give an exact idea of it: it is often believed, that the famous chalice with the wine exists only in the brain of the archeologists. Therefor I have had these two figures reproduced on a colored plate, borrowed from the hence-forth classic work of Mgs. Wilpert. (See these plates or cuts at the end of this book), It would be an easy thing, with this plate in hand, in front of the painting, to verify, that the shadings have in no wise been exaggerated.

Let us ascertain two things: first, that the fishes are not wriggling in the water, for they are at rest, as in the other figures, on a greenish surface, nor bearing the baskets on their back: for the baskets are beside the fishes; secondly, that the number of two fishes and the number ef five loaves seen in one basket, whilst in the other basket there are six loaves, makes us naturally think of the multiplication of the loaves and fishes. Glasses of wine were added, and it is not necessary, as certain Protestant autours have stated to make or have an effort of good will, in order to understand that there is question here of Christ, hidden under the Eucharistic species.

Let us remark finally, that the baskets and the transparent glass vase showing the wine in it, may be an allusion to the administration of the Eucarist. The poorer churches could certainly not be possessed of all the necessary and proper liturgical furnishings; they could

therefor make use of baskets and glasses for the distribution of the consecrated species; that could take place even in the IV century; for St. Jerome, in his CXXVth letter, when speaking of St. Exuperius, bishop of Toulouse, in France, who had sold the sacred vessels to help the poor, says: « Nihil illo ditius qui corpus Domini in canistro vimineo et sanguinem portat in vitreo; None is richer than he who carries the body of the Lord in a wicker basket and His blood in a glass ».

Ambulacrum BB, facing stairway A, has been called by De Rossi the aristocratic region of the Christian cemeteries of Rome, because it bears the names of the highest nobility of Rome in the II and III centuries: LOLLIA - IALLIA - Q. CAECILIVS MAXIMVS C. P. - ANNIA ΦΑΥCTEINA - ΛIKINIA ΦΑΥCTEIOA - AKEΛIA BHPA - ANNIOS CATO etc.

Fig. 117.

Fig. 118.

De Rossi who, when he was making up again the genealogical tree of the departed, knew how to make their names serve as chronological indications, noticed that we may not attribute to chance, the meeting in this property of memorials of the most distinguished Caecilii with the Pomponii Bassi and Graecini, the Anni, the Fausti and the Veri. Whoever reads these last names, says De Rossi, » will recall the group of their monuments and their epoch which is about the first years of the III century, and understands imme-

diately that they are persons of the same family and that they are related to the Antonini Augusti. Annius, a name of a « gens » borne by two of them, and Faustina and Vera, « cognomina » given to three women, point evidently to the relationship with those Annii Veri and those Anniae Faustinae, so often mentioned in the genealogic tree of the Antonini Augusti ». (1) Add thereto, the fact of the existence of columbaria since the time of Augustus belonging to the enfranchised of the Caecilii and of the Antonini; the inscription of a Pomponius Bassus of the senatorial order kept in the local museum (fig. 119); the special conditians of the place where the cemetery of St. Callistus was founded; and we shall easily understand that if De Rossi attributed this cemetery to the family of the Pomponii and the Caecilii, it was not a hypothetical fancy nor his private opinion, but a decision which, at least substantially, seems to be final and irrevocable.

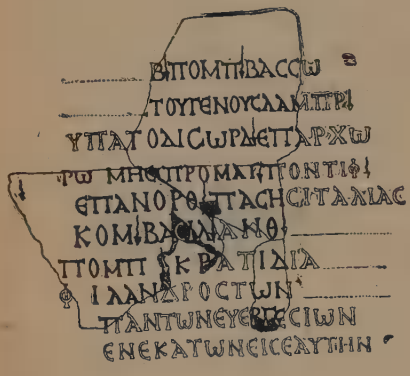

Fig. 119.

In chamber C is an iscription of a Virginia who lived five years « inlibata » inviolable, with her husband. (fig. 120). De Rossi thought it was one of those marriages, in which both spouses lived together as brother and sister. The paintings are decorative, as are also those of chamber.

(1) Roma sotterr. t. I, p. 316.

E, except the figure of the Good Shepherd which occupies the center of the vault. This figure is not only very well preserved, but it is very complete in its symbolism. For, at the feet of the Good Shepherd are two sheep, representing the flock of the elect; He Himself is carrying the milk-bowl, a symbol of the Eucharist. This peculiarity, found also in other figures with the Good Shepherd milking the sheep, seems to have been ispired by the visions of St. Perpetua. The Saint felt herself being carried to paradise: « I saw, she says, an immense garden, and, in the middle, the tall and venerable figure of an old man dressed as a shepherd getting ready to milk his sheep, looked at me and said: « Welcome, my daugther! » He called me to approach near him and he gave me a little of this coagulated milk. I took it with my hands joined and ate it. And all those surrounding us cried out; « Amen. » And at the sound of their voice, I woke up, having still in my mouth the most delicious taste ».

Fig. 120.

In the IV century there occurs a change in this subject, rendering it more expressive, if less historical. The Shepherd is carrying the sheep on his shoulders, giving it at the same time milk to drink from a vase. They could not better express the kindness of Christ towards the deceased who had died in His grace.

Let us retrace our steps to the foot of the stairway, (Fig. 121) shows an inscription of a priest who was also a physician. He is the person in the famous novel Fabiola, called Dionysius.

The inscription closes a loculus near the ground. To the left is the sarcophagus of a child bearing the

inscription: BLASTIANE PAX TECUM. Peace be with thee. This formula is prior to the III century, when it is replaced hy the formula IN PACE, which remained until a later epoch. « Pax tecum! » We would say, it is an echo of the words of Christ when, appearing to His Apostles, He said to them, in order to dissipate their fear: PAX VOBIS! The Apostles addressed this

Fig. 121.
ΔΙΟΝΙCΙΟΥ ΙΑΤΡΟΥ ΠΡΕCΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ.
of Dionysius, Physician, Priest

same salutaion to the faithful assembled, and the faithful received this touching wish from the lips of the Apostles.

A tomb under the floor bears this inscription: IOBINA QUE VIXIT ANNOS PLUS MINUS CINQUAGINTA RECESSIT A SECULO INGRESSA IN PACE. Jovina, who lived more or less, fitfty-five years, she left the world. She entered into peace.

Turning to the right, we see two inscriptions consisting of simple names: TRAQUILLIANUS, TRANQUILLIANA, and that of the priest Maximus, ΜΑΞΕΙΜΟΥ. ΠΡ.

On the walls are traces of paintings and of graffiti, which indicate the presence of a venerated sanctuary. One of them, discovered by Mgr: Bartolini, later on a Cardinal, reads: *SCS* Cerealis et Sallustia cum XXI. This discovery puts in honor again a passage of the

Acts of St. Cornelius which the critics had considered as fabulous: these « twenty-one » had been killed with

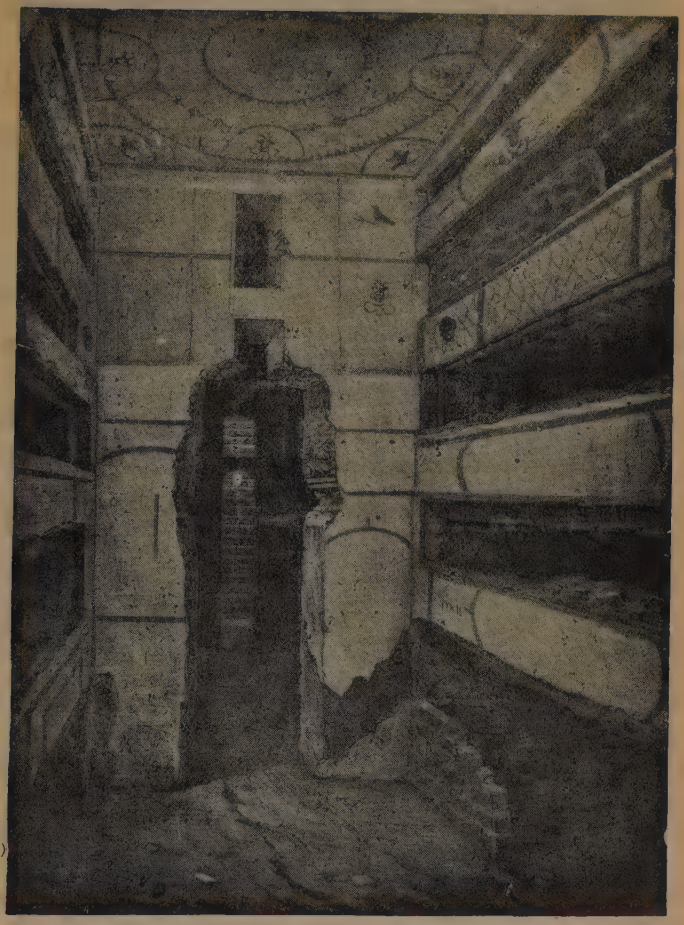

Fig. 122 — The Damasion staircase in the region of Lucina.

their centurion Cerealis and with Sallustia, in the prosecution of Decius, and without any doubt, the pilgrim who wrote their names, here or near-by,

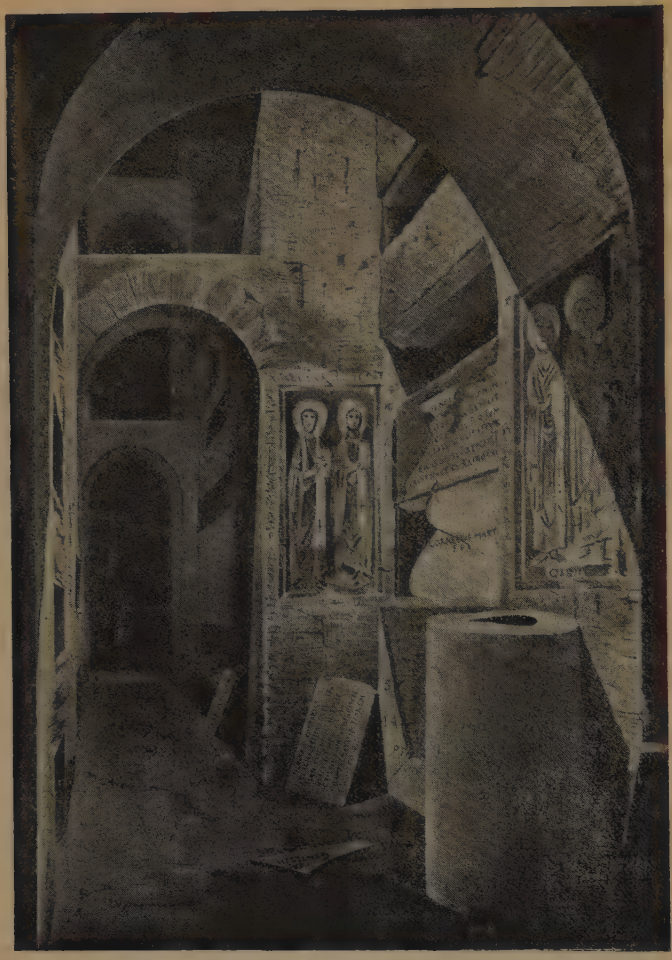

Fig. 123 — The tomb of Pope St. Cornelius.

venerated the tomb of these martys. The paleography of the names appears to be pretty ancient, (IV or V century); the siglum SCS, though, is not prior to the

V century, and De Rossi supposed it was added afterwards.

Two steps further on, the left wall forms a sharp angle, then turns to the right for a distance of about 12 feet, which makes the gallery look like a little chamber. Here is the tomb of Pope St. Cornelius, (fig. 123), who was buried in the year 252 and was honored in his epitaph with the glorious title of martyr which seems to have been added later on. The tomb was for some time as a « sepolcro a mensa », « a altar-tomb »; later, perhaps after it had been somewhat repaired, was it closed as an ordinary loculus. St. Damasus who did much important work there, adorned it with an inscription, of which only a part has been recovered, and of which no « sylloge » (collection) has kept the text for us: Here it is as made up again by De Rossi:

Aspice, descensu extructo TENEBRISQ. FUGATIS
Cornelii monumenta vides tvmvlvmq. SACRATUM
Hoc opus aegroti Damasi PRAESTANTIA FECIT
*Esset at accessus me*LIOR POPULISQ. PARATUM
*Auxilium sancti, et v*ALEAS SI FUNDERE PURO
Corde preces Damasus MELIOR CONSVRGERE POSSET
Quem, non lucis amor TENVIT MAGE CURA LABORIS.

Translation: See, a stairway was built, darkness has been dispelled; you contemplate the monument of Cornelius and his holy tomb. This work is the result of the zeal of Damasus, when sick, to give an easier approach (to the saint) and to procure for the people

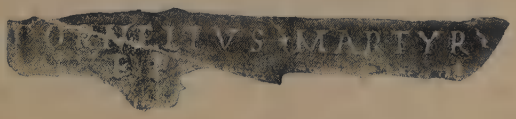

Fig. 124 — Cornelius Martyr and Bishop.

his ready help, with a pure heart, you wish to pour forth your prayers, ask that Damasus may return to health, (may get up again); not the love of life, but rather the solicitude of his charge has kept him here below ».

The near-by stairway and the lucernarium are certainly works executed by the order of St. Damasus: this gives us the reason for the additions by De Rossi. At the foot of the tomb there was another inscription, of which there remains but a few mutilated words. De Rossi reconstructed it in three different ways, which proves his competence for this kind of work. Here is one of them:

« *Siricius perfecit opus conclusit et arcam*
MAR*more Cornelii quoniam* PIA *membra re*TENTAT
Siricius finished this work and closed also the tomb because with its marble it retains the pious remains of Cornelius ».

To the right of the tomb a truncated column is backed against the wall; it may have served as an altar; at any rate, it must have borne a lamp or a vase with oil. On top we see: on the one side, the figures of St. Cornelius, pope, and of St. Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, (fig. 125), with their names written vertically at their sides; above are the words: quid retribuam Qomino! what shall I render unto the Lord!! on the other side, the figures of St. Optatus, African bishop, and of St. Sixtus II, [called « papa romanus » « Roman pope, (fig. 126). Of the name Optatus, De Rossi saw only the first letter; he skilfully guessed the whole, name, for in the cemetery of St. Callistus a certain Optapus EPISCOPVS VESC*er*RITANUS had been buried, who fled to Rome at the time the Vandals invaded Numidia. Mgr. Wilpert washed the painting and then could read: scs

OPTAT : EPISC*opus*. The pilgrim of the itinerary De Locis Ss. Martyrum affirms, that Cornelius and Cyprian are buried in the same church. Evidently this error is due to the paintings and to the liturgy, which since

Fig. 125 — St. Cornelius Pope, and St. Cyprian, Bishop.

antiquity had united the memory of these two saints in one affice ; unless we adopt the opinion of Mgr. Duchesne: (that relics of St. Cyprian were in this church ». To tell the truth, the existence of such a church on level ground is problematic; we know, that, often an « ecclesia » (church), was termed a ce-

metery, a chamber, any place where a certain number of faithful could congregate around the tomb of a martyr. The construction of a church of this kind, called « basilica », which the « Liber Pontificalis »

Fig. 126 — St. Optatus Bishop and St. Sixtus II.

attributes to Pope Leo I, may be understood of the restoration or the enlargement of a subterraneous place.

We do not know why St. Sixtus II was associated with St. Optatus, nor why, in the chapel of St. Cecilia, St. Sebastian is associated with St. Quirinns and St. Policamus.

These paintings are interesting on account of the inscriptions and on account of the vestments of the bishops. Listen to what Mgr. Wilpert has to say about the former: « Aside of the names, two other lengthier, inscriptions, are painted in the frame of the images. One is written in black letters on a yellow back-ground; De Rossi, with the help of psalm LVIII, 17 read: EGO AV*tem* CANTABO BIRTVTEM TUAM ET EX*cealta*BO MISERICORDIAM TVAM QV*i*A FACTVS *e*S ET *s*V*s*CEPRO (sic) MEVS. According to him, the inscriptinn would be a prayer of praises and thanksgiving composed by one who had been persecuted and had received the help of God; or perhaps composed by some temporal sovereign. In the persecuted, he saw Leo III, and in the sovereign, Charlemagne. — « To whom, says De Rossi, would this canticle apply better than to LeoIII? who miraculously escaped from the hands of his enemies..., was brought back to Rome, and justified of the calumnies of his enemies by Charlemagne, he could well borrow the voice of the psalmist to sing to God and to the sovereign whom God had raised to save him: « Ega autem cantabo etc ». After the cleaning of the images: it was ascertained that the inscription contained in the upper and right parts of the frame, is taken « entirely from plasm LVIII, 17: EGO AV*tem* CANTABO BIFTVTEM TVAM ET EXTABLO MANE MISERICORDIAM TVAM QVIA FACTVS SET (for est) SVSCEPTRO (for susceptro) NEVS ET REFUG*ium* MEVM *in* DI*e* tribulationis meae ». (1) « But I shall sing Thy virtue and exalt in the morning Thy mercy, because Thou hast become my help and my refuge ».

De Rossi himself was not sure of his explanation,

(1) Wilpert, Le pitture delle Catacombe romane, text, p. 460.

and he did not deny that another might be given it, on account of the oldness of the paintings; for historical reasons, he admitted even that the inscription might refer to Leo IV.

However that may be, the IX century is too late. These paintings may not be attributed at an epoch later than the VII th century, for the following reasons:

1° The pilgrim who composed the book « De locis SS. Martyrum » in which he asserts that St. Cyprian and St. Cornelius are buried in the same church, was led into error by the paintings; they therefor are prior to this document which belongs to the time of Honorius I (625-638); the paintings are those of the tomb; for the Itinerary of Salzburg supposes that the body of St. Cornelius is in the place wherein it had been deposited from the beginning: « longe in antro », « far back in the grotto »;

2° To these dates we must add the analogical and intrinsic criteria of the paintings; they have many points of contact with the artistical productions of the VIth and VIIth centuries, i. e., with the diptychs and especially with that of Basile of year 541. The same type in the oval of the face, in the eyes, in the folds of the chasuble and of the toga;

3° The undone and broad pallium cannot belong to the IX century, when this insignium had become a round closed (tied) ribbon, as it may be seen in the figure of St. Urban in the crypt of St. Cecilia. Now, as the paintings are not possessed of the sense of anachronism, they represent the figures and the dress of their time. Therefor, these paintings may not be referred to the IXth century, but must belong to an older epoch.

Mgr. Wilpert attributes them to John III (561-574);

this pope, his situation having become intolerable after his rupture with Narses, retired (according to the Liber Pontificalis), to the catacomb of Praetextatus, situated in face of the crypt of St. Lucina; he could then have these paintings executed.

These paintings ought to be interesting for the visitors, because they give the antique form of the epicopal vestments. The holy bishops wear the « paenula » (round closed cloak or cope), which was used by ancients and even by the Etruscans, as may be seen on the monuments and in their writings: this paenula never changed: a circle of cloth with a hole in the middle to pass the head, and a hood (cucullus).

We understand that its size and form may have varied according to circumstances: workmen wore a shorter paenula in order to have their arms free. In the chamber of the Five Saints, (fig. 100), the figure of Nemesius is wearing a paenula ending in a point in front; this is the only different form in ancient art, pagan or Christian. Then, the paenula was also the travelling dress: Cicero alluded to this custom, when pleading for Milo: Milo, he said, would not have worn this dress, if he had wanted to draw his enemy Clodius into an ambush. St. Paul also speaks of the paenula, when he requests Timotheus to bring him the garment which he had left behind at Troas at Carpus's house, together with his manuscripts and parchments (1).

Later on, it was called « amphibalus, casula, planeta; the chosuble, the hood was taken off, and in the XII century, it had a form not unlike the chasubles called », « the chasubles of the Middle Ages ».

(1) Tim, IV, 13.

The paintings of the tomb of St. Cornelius give us the primitive paenula which had already become the vestment of the priest for the celebration of Mass, and called « planeta » (1). The pallium is yet ample, but the end falling from the right shoulder, envelopes the top of the body, is thrown behind the left shoulder, and hangs on the chest; this insignium later on took the form of a circle with two appendices, one in front and the other behind, as may be seen in the paintings of the church of St. Clemens, in Rome, (X or XI century).

We have finally arrived at the end of our course through the Papal Cemetery, I say course, because volumes could be written, if we wished to describe more circumstantially, especially the latest discoveries there. I think, though, that I have said many an unknown thing. What consoles me is, that in a near future the Comm. Marucchi will publish the first numbers about the cemetery of St. Domitilla, and that Mgr. Wilpert has prepared more ample explanation about the cemeteries of Sts. Mark and Marcellian, and of St. Damasus: worthy continuations of the « *Roma sotterranea* ».

It was after the discovery of the tomb of St. Cornelius, that the illustrious De Rossi conceived this grand work. A part of the marble-slab closing it, (found in the vineyard above), was the key to all his admirable discoveries; his first volume contains a detailed description and an exact explanation of the crypt of St. Lucina. His contempories thought he had finished the study of these subterraneous regions. The

(1) At this epoch, it was not the vestement, (garment) exclusively for the priests. The senators also wore it at home. Cfr. Wilpert. Un capitolo di storia del vestiario, passim.

last discoveries which I have indicated, go to prove how far we are from a full knowledge, and how many questions remain to be solved. One single generation will not reach the end of so vast and so difficult researches. The genius of a man, in vain would flatter itself to have solved all the problems. He only is preparing the way for his disciples, who, in their turn, will prepare it for others. Such the sower, who throws the seed into the furrow, which others will gather in, a hundredfold.

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I. — APPENDIX.

Latest news about the Excavations.

Whilst these pages were in press, the excavations were continuing during the month of February 1909; a whole system of galleries, of a crypto-portico kind, were discovered in the neighborhood of St, Cecilia. The arches are beautiful and of excellent construction. The most interesting of it is, that big piles of bones were found, which naturally recall that innumerable multitude of martyrs of which the Itineraries speak: "innumerabilis multitudo martyrum».

Maybe it is an ossuary properly so called; in which case, this would be a new datum which should find its place in the Roma sotterranea, and force some changes on different points, admitted as certain until present. For, an ossuary supposes, that after a certain lapse of time the tombs were opened to take out the remains of the dead and make room for others. It must be remarked though, that these bones lie in layers and are covered with earth; which makes us suppose that decomposition was not yet finished, and that some kind of infection could have been feared.

Who knows, but we might find here the precious remains of the companions of the priest MARCELLUS, namely, Dulcoratus, Sapienza, Spes, Fides, Caritas with many others, perhaps 4000, 400, etc, who were executed on the Appian Way, and of whom the legend of John of Milan speaks? We know that the names

of these last ones are found in the "*Index oleorum*,, "*the Index of the oils*,, composed by the pilgrim of Monza, who gathered the oils at the tombs, in order to bring them to Queen Theodolinda, in the VI century.

Howsoever that may be, any solution at present would be premature. Let us hope, meanwhile, that the following excavations will shed a little light on a matter so important in the investigation and study of the underground cemeteries of Rome.

II. — LIST OF ROMAN PONTIFFS

M = Martyr.

1. St. Peter, of Bethsaida in Galilee, Prince of the Apostles, who received from Jesus Christ the Supreme Pontifical Power to be transmitted to his Successors; re- sided fiirst at Antioch, then at Rome, where he was martyred June 29, in the year 67, having governed the Church from that city for 25 years, 2 months and 7 days.

	Elected	Died
2. St. Linus, M.	67	78
3. St. Cletus, M.	78	90
4. St. Clement I., M.	90	100
5. St. Anacletus, M.	100	112
6. St. Evaristus, M.	112	121
7. St. Alexander I., M.	121	132
8. St. Sixtus I., M.	132	142
9. St. Telephorus, M.	142	154
10. St. Hyginus, M.	154	158
11. St. Pius I., M.	158	167
12. St. Anicetus, M.	167	175
13. St. Soterus, M.	175	182
14. St. Eleutherius, M.	182	193
15. St. Victor I., M.	193	203
16. St. Zephyrinus, M.	203	220
17. St. Callistus I., M.	221	227
18. St. Urban I., M	227	233
19. St. Pontian, M.	233	238
20. St. Anterus, M.	238	239
21. St. Fabian, M.	240	253
22. St. Cornelius, M.	254	255
23. St. Lucius I., M.	255	257
24. St. Stephanus I., M.	257	260
25. St. Sistus II., M.	260	261
26. St. Dionysius	261	272
27. St. Felix I., M.	272	275
28. St. Eutychian, M.	275	283
29. St. Caius, M.	283	296
30. St. Marcellinus, M.	296	304
31. St. Marcellus I., M.	304	309
32. St. Eusebius, M.	309	311
33. St. Melchiades, M.	311	314
34. St. Sylvester I.	314	337
35. St. Mark	337	340
36. St. Julius I.	341	352
37. Liberius	352	356
38. St. Felix II.	363	365
39. St. Damasus I.	366	384
40. St. Siricius	384	398
41. St. Anastasius I.	399	402
42. St. Innocent I.	402	417
43. St. Zozimus	417	418
44, St. Boniface I.	418	423
45. St. Celestine I.	423	432
46. St. Sixtus III.	432	440
47. St. Leo I. (the Great)	440	461
48. St. Hilary	461	468
49. St. Simplicius	468	483
50. St. Felix III.	483	492
51. St. Gelasius I.	492	496
52. St. Anastasius II.	496	498
53. St. Symmachus	498	514
54. St. Hormisdas	514	523
55. Lt. John I.	523	526
56. St. Felix IV.	526	530
57. Boniface II.	530	532
58. John II.	532	535
59. St. Agapitus	535	536
60. St. Silverius	536	538
61. Vigilius	539	555
62. Pelagius I.	555	560
63. John III.	560	573
64. Benedict I.	574	578
65. Pelagius II.	578	590
66. St. Gregory I. (the Great)	590	604
67. Sabinian	604	606
68. Boniface III.	607	607
69. St. Boniface IV.	608	615
70. St. Adeodatus I.	615	619
71. Boniface V.	619	625
72. Honorius I.	625	638
73. Severinus	640	640
74. John IV.	640	642
75. Theodore I.	642	649
76. St. Martin I., M.	649	655
77. St. Eugene I.	655	656
78. St, Vitalian	657	672
79. Adeodatus II.	672	676
80. Donus I.	676	678
81. St. Agatho	678	682
82. St. Leo II.	682	683
83. St. Benedict II.	684	685
84. St. John V.	685	686
85. Conon	686	687
86. St. Sergius I.	687	701
87. St. John VI.	701	705
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III. Persecutions

Historians usually reckon ten general persecutions, which are:

I. Under Nero, A D 64-68 who, having set Rome on fire, threw the odium upon the Christians; multitudes were massacred; wrapt in skins of wild beasts, and torn and devoured by dogs; crucified, burnt alive etc.;

II. Under Domitian, A. D. 95;

III. Under Trajan, A. D. 106, etc.

IV. Under Marcus Aurelius, A. D. 166-177.

V. Under Septimus Severus, A. D. 199-204;

VI. Under Maximinus, A. D. 235-237;

VII. Under Decius, more bloody than any preceding one; A. D. 250-252.

VIII. Under Valerian, A. D. 258-260;

IX. Under Aurelian, A. D. 275;

X. Under Diocletian, who prohibited Christian worship; houses filled with Christians, were set on fire; many were bound together with ropes, and cast into the sea. A. D. 303-313.

The persecutions generally lasted some time after the death of the persecutors, until the edicts were either revoked officially, or, for some other reason, ceased operating.

IV. — INDEX

OF NOMENCLATURE AND DEFINITIONS

(N. B. — The Century Dictionary and Encyclopedia has been principally of service here).

ACCUBITORIUM — L. From ad, near, and cubare, to lie down ; hence, a place to lie down, to rest, to repose, as the dead in their tombs. A cemetery.

ACROSTIC — Gr. ἀχροστίχιον from ἄχρος at the end, and στείχειν go, walk, march. A composition in verse, in which the first, or the first and last, or certain other letters of the lines, taken in order, form a name, a motto, title etc.

AGAPE — Gr. love, charity. A meal partaken of in common, by the primitive Christians, originally in connection with the Lord's Supper. A true love-feast. It was made the occasion of offerings for the poor, and closed with the Lord's supper and the parting kiss of love. Much suspected by the pagans, they were finally discontinued by the Church, in the IVth century.

AMBULACRUM — L., a walk, from ambulare, to walk ;... a a passage, corridor etc.

APOLOGY — Gr. ἀπολογία a speech in defense, a vindication, justification ; specifically, of a doctrine, system or course of conduct etc., against objections and criticisms.

APOTHEOSIS — Gr. ἀποθέωσις a deification ; from ἀποθέοειν deify, from ἀπὸ, from, and θεός a god, specifically under the Romans, the formal attribution of divine honors to a deceased emperor or other member of the imperial family.

APSE or APSIS — L., apsis, (pl. apsedes), a round arch or vault, the circle which a star describes in its orbit.; a bowl, (Gr. ἁφίς a loop, a wheel, an orbit etc.). Any recess, or the termination of a building, of semi-circular plan, covered by a semi-circular vault or semi-dome.

ARCANUM — L., from arcanus, a hidden, secret thing; hence: a secret, a mystery.

ARCHITRAVE — French, architrave from G. archi, chief, and trabs, a beam. The master-beam, chief supporter; that member of an entablature, which rests immediately on the column and supports those portios of the structure which are above it.

ARCOSOLIUM — L.. arcus, an arch, and solium, a seat. A name given to certain recesses for dead bodies in the catacombs, an arched monument, a deep niche cut in the rocky wall and arched above, a grave or sarcophagus hewn from the rock under the arch.

AREA — Area, Latin, a piece of level ground, a vacant space, a court, a surface within bounderies, any particular extent of surface, a region, a tract, a space, a site. In refernce to the burital ground of the Christians: « cemetery ».

ARENARIUM — A sand-pit, the same as « arenae fodina »... Crypta Arenaria, Arenarious crypts, sandy, crypts.; from the Latin, « arena », sand.

BADIGEON — A mixture of plaster and freestone, ground together and sifted, used by sculptors to fill small holes and repair the defects of the stoves used by them.; or also, any kind of prepared water-color, over, any surface: as a white-wash.

BISOMUS — Lt. bis, twice, and Gr. σῶμα, a body. Consequently, a place for two bodies, a grave for two.

CADUCEUS — L., from the Gr. χηρυκειον, a herald's staff. The rod or wand borne by Hermes or Mercury, as an ensign of authority, quality and office. Sometimes it is winged; it is entwined with two serpents. A symbol of peace, prospertity and commerce.

CAISSON — French. a large chest, case. Here, a sunken panel in a coffered ceiling; a coffer.

CATABATICUM — A descent, a place to go down, a stairway. From the Gr. καταβαίνω to go down.

CATACOMBS — In low Latin, catacumba, a sepulchral vault. Father Marchi derives the word from κατά down, and κύμβος a tomb, or from κατά and κοιμάω, to sleep. Some say it comes from a hybrid word: κατά and cumbo, to lie down. According to Schneider, it is derived from κατά and κύμβη, a boat or canoe, from the resemblance of a

sarcophagus to that object. It might derive from κατά and κύμβος a hollow, a subterranean excavation. Originally it may have applied to the « Hollows », the name of a locality near Rome, in which the church of St. Sebastian with extensive burial-vaults, was built : « Locus qui dicitur catacumbae ». St. Gregory, Opp., t. II. ep. 30. It was afterward generically applied to all subterranean places of sepulture. The earliest writers who mention those of Rome call them « cryptae or coemeteria. The most celebrated of these subterranean vaults are those in or about St. Sebastian, the work of the early Christians. They consist of a labyrinth of galleries, from 4 to 5 feet wide, at different levels. excavated in the soft granular tufa underlying the Campagna. In each wall, loculi or berth-like recesses contained the dead. The entrances to these were closed with slabs of stone, carefully sealed. and marked with inscriptions or rude pictures. In some cases « cubicula » or small rooms were set apart for families of distinction of the church, and especially for « martyrs ». Though these catacombs probably served to some extent as places of refuge and concealment for Christians during the most furious persecutions, the original idea of their construction was undoubtedly that they should be used only as burial-vaults. Ihe length of the galleries in the Roman catacombs has been variously estimated at from 350 to 900 miles. and the number of bodies interred is said to be over 6,000,000. Similar excavations for burial purposes are found iu Syria, Asia Minor, Cyprus, Crete, the Aegean Isles, Greece, Sicily, Naples, Malta, and France, Those of Paris are abandoned quarries extending under a large portion of the city, which were made into a bonery in 1886, when the intramural cemeteries of the city were condemned and the bones were removed thither. C. D. E.

CATECHUMAN — Gr. κατηχούμενος, one being instructed. One who is under instruction in the first rudiments of Christianity, a neophyte ; not fully initiated in the principles of the Christian religion

CEMETERY — Cemetery, from the Latin coemeterium, the Greek κοιμητήριον a sleeping-room, a sleeping-place. In the ecclesiastical writers, a cemetery, from the Greek κοιμᾶν put to sleep, (passive, fall asleep, from κεῖσθαι lie down,

related to the Latin, quies, quietness. A place set aside for interment ; a graveyard ; a burial-ground, (see also the word, catacombs).

CIPOLLINO — Italian. A granular limestone containing mica. The Italian cipollino is a marble or gypsum having a thinly laminated and concretionary structure, resembling that of the onion, hence its name. A broken column having this form.

CIPPUS — L. a stake, post, pillar ; even a large stake of wood or stone, used as a mark or monument : specifically, such a monument marking a grave or a sacred place. It was cylindrical or square,

CISTERCIAN — Religious of the Order of Citeaux, a Benedictine Reform, established at Citeaux in 1098, by St. Robert, Abbot of Molesme, in the diocese of Lamgres, France, for the purpose of restoring, as far as possible, the literal observance of the Rule of St. Benedict. The history of this order may be divide into five periods :

1. the Formation, 1098-1134 :
2. the Golden age, 1134-1142 ;
3. the Decline, 1342-1790 ;
4. the Restoration, 1790 ;
5. the Dispersion through the infamous French Free-Masonry 1903. In the United States of America, there are four Cistercian Monasteries, the most important of which is, « Gethsemane Abbey », in the Diocese of Louisville, Kentucky.

COLLEGIATE — One of a society, of a college, pertaining to or of the nature of an organized body of men having certain common persuits or duties.

COLUMBARIUM — L., a dove-cote, a pigeon-house, from columba, a dove. Hence, a place of sepulture for the ashes, and later for the bodies, of the dead. It consisted of arched and squareheaded recesses or niches formed in the walls, in which the cinerary urns or bodies were deposited ; so named from the resemblance between these recesses and those formed in a dove-cote for the doves to build their nests in. Thus some times several thousand urns or bodies were deposited in a single Columbarium.

CRUCIGEROUS — From the L,. crux, a cross, and gerere, to carry. Bearing a cross.

CRUX GAMMATA — The gammated cross, the fourfold repetition of the Greek letter Γ.

CUBICULUM — A small room, and in particular, a sleeping-room, a resting-place; a burial, from cubare, to lie down; hence chamber having around its walls loculi for the reception of the dead.

DIPTYCHS —L., diptycha, from the Gr. δίπτυχα a pair of writing-tablets. They meant. *a*) the tablets on which were written the names of those who were especially to be commemorated at the celebration of the Eucharist; *b*) the list of names so recorded; *c*) the intercessions in the course of which these names were introduced. The mention of the living or the dead person, indicated his communion with the church.

DORMITORIUM — from L. dormire, to sleep; hence, a place to sleep, a sleeping room. Here, a burial-place, a cemetery. (Also, dormitory).

EPIGRAPHY — Gr. ἐπιγραμή an epigraph; from επιγραμειν to write upon, to inscribe. The study or knowledge of epigraphs; that branch of knowledge which deals with the deciphering and explanation of epigraphs, of inscriptions.

ESCHATOLOGY — Gr. ἐσχατογολία from ἐσχατος furthest, uttermost, extreme, last; and γολία exposition of; hence, the doctrine of the last or of final things, as the end of the world; particularly, the end of man in this world, and his condition or state after death. Hence, death, judgment, resurrection, heaven, hell, immortality.

EXHEDRA or EXEDRA — A hall furnished with seats, from the Greek. A raised platform with steps, in the open air, often by a roadside or in some other public place, provided with seats for the purpose of repose and conversation. Here it applies to an apse, a recess or a large niche in the wall, or a porch or chapel (with seats) projecting from a building.

FISCAL — L., fiscus, a basket of rushes, a money-bag, the state-treasury: hence, fiscal, what pertains to the fisc, what relates to or concerns the collection or expenditure of taxes and customs. Also, as in Rome, the fiscal agent was a public prosecutor, as our State's attorney.

FORMAE — L. forma, a water-conduit; a special arrangement of tombs in the catacombs under the pavements in the galleries, laid there, underground as water-conduits are.

FOSSOR — A grave-digger. The fossores or fossarii, were the lowliest order of the clergy in the primitive Church. Their business was to take care of the funerals of the poor in particular, and of the martyrs. Their duties, in time of persecutions, was not discharged without great inconvenience and personal dangers. St. Jerome, « de Septem Gradibus Ecclesiae : » The first order amongst the clergy is that of the « fossarii, » who, after the example of Tobias, are admonished to bury the dead » They had a quasi-ecclesiastical rank, and were subject to ecclesiastical discipline.

GENS. pl. GENTES — L., a clan, a family, from *gignere*, to beget. In ancient Rome a clan or house embracing several families claiming descendent from a common ancestor, united by a common name and by certain religious rites and legal privileges and obligations, but not necessarily by consanguinity: as the Caeciliana gens, all bearing the name of Caecilius etc.

GNOSTIC — Gr. γνοστιαός knowing; having knowledge. A member of a certain rationalistic seet of the two first centuries of the Church.

GRAFFITO — Italian, (pl. graffiti), a scribbling, from graffiare to write; An ancient scribbling, scratched, painted or otherwise, marked on a wall, a column, tablet or other surface. Graffiti abound on nearly all sides of the ancient civilization, especially those under Roman domination. They comprise more or less rude sketches, names, sentences and remarks of all kinds, like similar modern scribblings, and are often of much archaeological and historical importance.

GROMATIC — L. grumaticus, of land-surveying, from groma or gruma, a surveyor's measuring-rod ; from the Gr. γνώμιον a carpenter's square. Hence, the art of land-surveying, as the laying out of camps, of cities, or any other space, especially of a temple.

HIERONYMIC — From the Gr. Ἱερώνυμος, Hieronymus, St. Jerome; of, or partaining to St. Jerome.

HYPOGEUM—Hypogeum or hypogaeum Latin, from the Greek ὑπόγειον, or ὑπόγαιον, an underground chamber, from ὑπόγειος, ὑπόγαιος, underground. In Architecture, that part of the building which is below the ground, including cellars,

vaults, etc.; also, any underground construction, chamber, tomb, etc. Also « hipogee. »

ICONOGRAPHY — Gr. εἰκονογραφία a sketch, a description, a portrait; from εἰκών an image, and γράφειν write. That branch of knowledge which relates to the representation of persons or thngs, by means of images, statues, busts, paintings, drawings, engravings on gems or metals, and the like.

IDIOGRAPH — Gr. from ἰδιός one's own, and γράφειν to write; hence, a mark or signature peculiar to an individual; a private mark or a trade-mark.

LABYRINTH — Gr. Λαβύρινθος, a structure having many intricate passages, a maze. An intricate combination of passages running into one another from different directions, in which it is difficult or impossible to find the way from point to point, or to reach the exit from interior, without a clue or a guide.

LAPSI — L., those who have fallen; In the early Church, those who, having professed Christianity, denied their faith in time of persecution, or fell into some other kind of the reputed grievous sin, such as offering incense to idols, etc.; On profession of contrition, they were allowed to hope for restoration to the Church; but before being again admitted to communion, they had to pass a long probation, and to submit to special penances, from several days to several years. For special reasons, they were condoned after a shorter limit (what we may now call « indulgence) », especially when they were in danger of death. For then, also, was the old Roman law in force as applied to the Church: « animarum suprema lex esto! »... Let the supreme law be the salvation of the souls!!! Has there ever been any deviation in the theory or practice of the R. C. Church in this matter? The Catholic Church does everything possible before death to save souls.

LITHOID or LITHOIDAL — from the Greek, λιθοειδής from λίθος like stone, stony, εἶδος form resembling stone, of a stony structure.

LOCULUS — L. A little place, a compartment. A small separate chamber or recess, for the reception of a body or urn, in the catacombs. When the body had been placed in the loculus, the opening was closed with a slab of marble, or was otherwise built up.

LOCUS — Lt., A place. - A grave. - this name designated also the arcosolium and the luculus.

LUCERNARIUM — L. from lucerna, an ancient lamp. from lux, light. Hence, lucernarium, a light-hole, a sky-light, an opening in the ceiling of the cubiculi or of the galleries, communicating with the outside for the sake of light in the catacombs.

LUNETTA — The inner part of an « arcosolium » is called « lunetta » because if has the shape of half a moon.

MARTYROLOGY — Gr., from μάρτυρ maryr, and λόγος an account; hence, a catalogue of martyrs, the history of the lives, sufferings and death of Christian martyrs; a list or calendar of martyrs, arranged according to the succession of their anniversaries, specifically in the Roman Catholic Church.

MAUSOLEUM — The Latin term from the Greek μαυσωλεῖον the tomb of Maysolus, Μαυσῶλος, Mausolus. He died about 353 B. C. He revolted against Artaxerxes Mnemnon, about 362 B. C. His wife erected at Halicarnassus, in his honor, the celebrated monument named from him « the Mausoleum »: ranking as one of the seven wonders of the world. Hence, any splendid tomb; a grand or stately sepulchral monument or edifice, designed to contain one tomb or more.

MOSAICS — Gr. μουσάκιον mosaic, literally, of the Muses, i. e., artistic. Mosaic work; inlaid work, especially in hard materials, as distinguished from inlays of wood, ivory, and the like. The most common materials are colored stones and glass.

NOMENCLATURE — L., nomen, name, and calare, to call. A system of names. the systematic naming of things, a vocabulary of names or technical terms.

AD NYMPHAS — At the waters, the fountain, the font, of St. Peter. Same as « Ad Fontem Sancti Petri ».

OPISTHOGRAPH — Gr. ὀπισθόγραφος, written on the back, from ὄπισθεν behind and γράφειν to write. Here: a slab inscribed on the back as on the front, the side bearing the original (pagan) inscription having been turned to the wall, and the ether side utilized for a later inscription. Often also, an epigraph (Christian), written over a corrected pagan epigraph.

ORANTE — L. from « orans », praying. A figure (generally of a woman) in the attitude of prayer, symbolizing the soul of the dead person. (P. Sisto).

PALEOGRAPHY — Gr. παλαιογραφία from παλαιός ancient, and γραφία writing ; hence, an ancient manner of writing. The science or art of deciphering ancient documents or writings, including the knowledge of the various characters used at different periods by the scribes of the different nations and languages, their usual abbreviations, etc.

PALLIUM — A latin word sig: a coverlet. a mantle, Here, a more or less wide woolen garment, passing around the shoulders, with two short vertical pieces, falling respectively down the breast and the back. It is ornamented with crosses, and has three golden pins, by which it is attached. It was worn anciently in the Western Church by the Popes, and now, by the Roman Catholic Bishops in communion with the Pope.

PARALLELEPIPED — From the Gr. παραλληλεπίπεδον (from παάλληλος, parallel, and επίπεδον a plane surface). A prism whose bases are parallelograms, from the Gr. παραλληλόγραμμον, a quadrilateral, whose opposite sides are parallel, from παράλληλος beside one another.

PARINETIC — Gr. παρείνητος from παρά beside, and εἰρήνη peace ; peacful, beatific.

PEPERINE — Italian peperino, (from pepe, pevere, i. e. pepper, L. piper, pepper. A volcanic tufa composed of well-developed crystales, or crystal fragments cemented together ; especially the tufas of Mount Alban, near Rome. Tufa, tuff, peperine, pozzolana and trass are names given, without much discrimination, to deposits consisiting essentally of more or less comminuted valcanic rock, cinders aud ashes.

POZZOLANA — An Italian word, also « pozzolana ». A material of volcanic origin, first found at Pozzuoli, the ancient Puteoli, (a sea-port in the province of Naples, Italy, situated on the bay of Pozzuoli, 7 miles W. of Naples;)... and afterwards in many other localities, and of great value and importance in the manufacture of hydraulic cement. It is a volcanic ash, generally somewhat pulverulent, of various colours. and of different qualities in different localities. For making cement, the pozzolana is pulverized

and mixed with sand and lime Vitruvius describes fully the preparation of this hydraulic cement.

PUTICULI — From the Latin, puteus, a well, a cistern. The puticuli, properly openings of these wells; they meant and were really, openings for the subterranean galleries under the Esquiline Hill, used as burial-palce for the slaves and the poor.

QUADRISOMUS — L., quadri..... from « quatuor », four. Consequently, a place or grave for four bodies.

RECENSION — L., « recensio » an enumeration, reviewing, examination. A critical or methodical revision, as of a text of a book, or of a document edited version; a critical examination as of a book.

RELIEF — Middle English and Old French, a raising. relieving; here. embossed work.; from the verb relieve, i. e., to give relief or prominence to, to heighten the effect by contrast. Here: the projection of a figure from the ground or plane on which it is formed. Refief is, in general, of three kinds:

a) high relief, (alto rilievo), that in which the figures project at least one half of their natural circumference from the background;

b) low relief, (basso rilievo bas-relief). that in which the figures project but slightly from the ground, so that no part is entiraly detached from it: the effect is produced by the treatment of light and shadow;

c) middle or half-relief, (mezzo rilievo), that which is intermediate between the other two.

RHETOR — L., a teacher of oratory, a rhetorician and also an orator; Gr., ῥήτωρ a speaker, orator, a master or teacher of rhetoric.

ROTUND — Italian, rotonda; A round building, especially with a dome; any building that is round both outside and inside; a circular hall in a large building, generally surmounted by a dome.

SARCOPHAGUS — L., the same word as adjective, with the word « lapis, a stone », a kind of lime-stone; as a noun, a coffin, sepulchre, from the Gr. σαρκόφαγος a limestone so called from a su supposed property of consuming the flesh of corpses laid in it; hence, a coffin of such stone. It was a species of stone used among the Greeks for making

coffins. It was called by the Romans « lapis Assius », from being found at Assos, in Troad, Asia Minor... The general sense is : A stone coffin, especially one ornamented with sculptures or bearing inscriptions, etc. Sarcophagi were in use in Egypt, Asia, Greece and Rome, and even nowadays for distinguished persons.

SEPOLCRO A MENSA — Italian, a sepulchre as table. A tomb or sarcaphagus having a flat top, used as an altar for the celebration of Mass in the catacombs, especially at the tombs of martyrs.

SIGLEM — L., pl. sigla, an abbreviation of L. sigilla, a mark, a seal. Here, a monogram, usually an abbrabiation of a proper name, especially one engraved upon the seal of a sealing-ring.

STRIGIL — L., strigilis, a scraper, an instrument of metal ivory or horn, used by the ancients for scraping the spine at the bath or in the gymnasium ; a flesh-scraper, a flesh-brush, or a glove of hair-cloth etc.

SYLLOGE — Gr., συλλογή a gathering, a summary, a collection ; from the Gr., συλλογίξειν to gather together.

SYNCHRONOUS — French, synchrone, from the Gr., σύγχρονος of the same time. occurring at the same time ; simultaneous, contemporaneous.

TRIDENT — L., tridens, three-toothed or three-pronged spear. In the catacombs, it often represents the cross.

TRISOMUS — L., tri... from tres, three, and somus from Gr. σῶμα, a body. Consequently, a place or grave for three bodies.

TUFA — Italian word, from the Latin, tophus meaning, soft sandy stone : it is a rock, Tuff having a rough or cellular texture, sometimes a fragmental volcanic material.

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Scaglia, Sisto.

The catacombs of Saint Callistus; history and description, general view of the Christian sepulture, epigraphy and art. Translated from the original, with due authorization from the author, by Henry S. Nagengast. Rome, Sapienza, 1911.

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